

CHAPTER IX.

OCCUPATIONS, MANUFACTURES AND TRADE.

OCCUPA-
TIONS.Agricul-
ture.

BALASORE is essentially an agricultural district, and the great majority of the people are dependent on cultivation. At the census of 1901 it was found that no less than 79 per cent. of the people were supported by agriculture, and 31 per cent. of these were actual workers, including 8,000 rent-receivers, 245,000 rent-payers and 4,000 field labourers. It has, however, to be borne in mind that there are very few who do not cultivate a little land when they have the means or opportunity to obtain it, even though it may not be their principal means of support; even the traders and artisans, except the very poorest, have their own patch of land, which they bring under cultivation either themselves or through hired labourers. The rent-receivers or zamindars are mainly Hindus, often Bengalis who have settled in Orissa, belonging to the Brāhman, Kayasth, Karan and Tāmbuli castes; but there are a few Muhammadans among them. The non-cultivating land-owners are chiefly Brāhmins, most of whom have small *lakhiraj* holdings, which they cultivate through their servants; the Balarāmgotri Brāhmins, however, cultivate with their own hands. The tenant cultivators are drawn principally from the Khandaits, Rājus, Chāsas and Gauras, who are professional hereditary cultivators, but practically all the castes are represented among them. Landless labourers are not confined to any particular castes, but range according to circumstances from the comparatively high caste Khandaits to the semi-barbarous aboriginal tribes bordering on the western hills. They are commonest in the south, where the population is dense and the competition for land is keen; in other parts it is not difficult to obtain a small area for a produce rent in any sparsely inhabited tracts where land is being brought under cultivation.

Industries.

Industries support 9.6 per cent. of the population, and 59 per cent. of the members of this class are actual workers, including 12,000 fishermen and fish-dealers, 13,000 grain-parchers and rice pounders, 9,000 cotton weavers and spinners, 3,000 basket and

mat makers, besides numerous goldsmiths, ironsmiths and potters. The main fishing castes are the Kewats, Gokhās and Tiyaṛs who also make their own nets. The Tāntis weave cotton, and the Kandrās generally prepare ropes for sale in the markets, but spinning and rope making are not confined to any particular castes. Most of the tailors are Muhammadans, and the preparation of oil forms the chief occupation of the Telis. Aboriginal tribes, such as the Santāls and Bhumijs living on the western border of the district, supply the greater part of the firewood and charcoal brought to market. Baskets and leaf plates are made mostly by Doms, but also by the Pāns and Kandrās, while mats are prepared in the northern part of the district by Kandrās. The Rārhis parch grain; Sunris are occupied in the preparation and sale of liquor; Chamārs draw toddy and make brooms; and shoe making and leather tanning form the occupation of Muchis. The Kumhārs are the potter caste, Pathuriās work in stone, while builders generally come from the ranks of the Muhammadans.

The proportion of the population supported by commerce is very small, amounting to only 0·3 per cent.; but many of the artisans, though not actual shop-keepers, deal in the products of their workmanship and thus contribute considerably towards local trade. The Oriyā has, as a rule, a faint idea of trade and little commercial enterprise, his horizon being bounded by usury, which requires a small expenditure of energy and grows fat, as it were, by feeding on itself. The chief merchants and traders are foreigners, the rice merchants being principally Muhammadans from Bombay, the cloth merchants Mārwarīs from Jaipur and Mārwar, and the hide dealers Kābulis from Afghānistān. Among the local mercantile community the most important are Tāmbulis, who are general merchants, Subarnabaniks, who are general money-lenders and pawn-brokers, Gandhabaniks and Aguris (Ugra Kshattriyas), who are shop-keepers, Kāpuriās, who sell cloth, and Sunris, who are liquor vendors; while confectioners or sweetmeat-sellers belong to the Guriā caste.

Altogether 1·1 per cent. of the population derive their livelihood from professional pursuits, and of these 46 per cent. are actual workers, including 1,000 priests and 1,500 teachers. The great majority of the people shewn under this class consist of Brāhmans. At one time the Brāhmans confined themselves to the study of the *sāstras*, the worship of the gods, and to officiating at social and religious ceremonies. But now they have ceased to look to priesthood as their only means of livelihood, and have taken to various other secondary pursuits to eke out their income as priests. There are high class Śāsani Brāhmans, however, who yet adhere

to their priestly calling. The religious mendicants are supplied by Vaishnavas among the Hindus and Fakirs among the Muhammadans. The higher class of officers in the Department of Education are mostly recruited from Bengalis, either recently arrived or domiciled in Orissa. In former days, when communication with Bengal was not so easy as it has now been rendered by the opening of the railway, many of the Bengalis, whom business and religious zeal led to this part of the country, settled here. The descendants of these families are far ahead of their Oriyā brethren in respect of culture and education, though the latter are now beginning to follow in their train. The lower grades of teachers, *gurus*, etc., are officered by Brāhmins and Karans, and occasionally by Khandaits. These remarks apply equally to literature and law, and also to a great extent to engineering, surveying, etc. Petition-writers, copyists and public scribes, however, are not confined to these castes, and in the lower grades of engineering a fair sprinkling of Muhammadans is found. Unlike Bengal, the village physicians are not confined to any particular castes. There are some Baidya families who emigrated from Bengal and settled here, and who yet retain their ancient calling, but their number is limited.

Other occupations.

Among those engaged in other occupations are 4,000 herdsmen, 7,000 beggars and 24,000 general labourers. Gauras and Pāns breed and herd cattle; sheep and goats are bred by Pāns and Kandrās; and the pig dealers are Ghosuriās. Among musicians the pipers belong to the caste called Mahuriās, while the drummers are mostly Pāns and Kandrās. Beggars and labourers are not confined to any specific caste. The *shikāris* or hunters of the field consist of Pāns, Savars, Kelās and Siyalgirs; and the butchers, fowl and egg dealers are all Muhammadans. Barbers belong exclusively to the caste called Bhandāri, or Nāpit, and washermen to the Dhobā caste. Cooks are mostly Brāhmins, and indoor servants are recruited from various castes by whose touch water does not become contaminated. The coachmen are mostly Muhammadans, but the grooms come almost exclusively from the Pān caste; while sweepers are drawn from the Mehtar castes.

MANUFACTURES.

The importance formerly attaching to Balasore as an industrial centre may be gauged by the fact that in the 17th century it contained the factories of no less than five European nations, the Portuguese, Dutch, Danes, French and English. The chief settlement of the English was in Balasore town, but they also had subordinate factories at Bhadrakh, Soro and Balarāngarhi, round which weavers' colonies gathered. The fine cotton cloths and muslins produced by their looms formed the chief article of

commerce, and frequent mention is made in the early records of the English of the Balasore "sannoes" and "cussayes," as these fabrics were called. With the general dislocation of trade caused by the Marāthā raids the industry appears to have languished, and it did not revive when the *pax Britannica* was introduced. In a report submitted by the *Faujdar* of Balasore in 1761 we find rice, iron and stone plates referred to as the principal exports, and cotton cloths are not mentioned; while Stirling, writing in 1822, has left it on record that "the manufactures and trade of Orissa proper are very inconsiderable and unimportant. A sufficiency of the coarser cloths is made for the use of the inhabitants in all parts of the district. The calicoes of Balasore, Soro, Bhadrakh, Jānjipur and Hariharpur were once prized and sought after under the name of Sannahs, but the demand for the finer fabrics of that description having long since declined, the quantity now manufactured is very trifling."

At this time, however, the manufacture of salt was a very important industry giving employment to large numbers. Saltpetre was in great demand for gunpowder, a demand which was increased by the long French war; and Government had accordingly established a monopoly in the salt manufacture. We find that the Ricketts Canal was made simply to afford a ready means of transport for the salt from the *arangs* or salt lands in the south to the port of Churāman; and further north the Hijili and Tamlūk Salt Agents had acquired between 1805 and 1810 about 15 square miles of land along the Subarnarekhā to be used as *jalpāi* land, i. e., the jungle and grass were cut and used for burning in the process of manufacture. The finest salt of all India, says Stirling, was manufactured in the wild inhospitable tract along the sea-board and yielded annually to the East India Company a net revenue falling little short of 18 lakhs of rupees. The monopoly system was abolished in 1862-63, but salt making continued for many years later to be the staple manufacture of the district. In 1875-76 nearly 200,000 maunds were manufactured, but the industry has been ruined by the importation of imported salt and has been abandoned; salt is, in fact, now the largest import of the district.

At the present day, the manufactures of the district are insignificant and the only industries are small, hand industries. The reason for this economic backwardness is that the population is almost entirely dependent on agriculture, there are no manufacturing towns, and each village is a self-supporting industrial unit. The people grow and husk their own rice, build their own houses, and require very few articles of foreign manufacture.

Coarse cotton cloth, brass and bell-metal utensils and a few other articles manufactured locally, such as baskets, pottery, mats and agricultural implements, meet most of their wants, and the artisans who make these articles form, and have formed for centuries past, a component part of the village community, being paid largely in kind and, in some cases, holding lands in remuneration for their services.] A brief account of the small industries of the district is given below.

Atou
weaving.

Cotton weaving is still carried on throughout the district by Tāntis, who weave coarse cotton cloths, which cost double as much as the cloths of English manufacture, but last a year, while the foreign cloths last only six months. [The only trace of the muslin manufacture for which Balasore was once famous survives in Bhadrakh, in Kedārpur in *pargana* Bānchās, and in Balasore town, where muslin of a superior kind is woven. It is used by native gentlemen for ceremonial purposes, *dhotis* of this description costing Rs. 20 a pair.] Almost all the yarn used is imported, but spinning is still carried on to a small extent by members of the Tulābhīnā caste, who use machines made locally for the purpose, and by Brāhman widows, for whom this is proverbially considered a suitable and respectable occupation. They use a small hand instrument, and the Brāhman's sacred threads are all made in this manner.

Silk
weaving.

Silk weaving constitutes a small hand industry; it is not carried on on any extensive scale, and the only kind of silk manufactured is tussar silk. The industry, such as it is, is carried on by some 200 persons, by far the greater number of whom live in the northern part of the district, in the villages of Pātpur and Rāibaniā; the rest are inhabitants of the village of Purusanda in the Bhadrakh subdivision. In the north the weavers are not confined to any particular caste, but are real natives of the soil; and a Brāhman is as much at liberty to engage in the manufacture of tussar silk as a Kāpurīā, a Rājā, a Jolāhā, or a man of any other caste. This manufacture is not, however, their sole occupation. They follow their respective avocations, and consider the industry as only a supplementary means of augmenting their limited income. [In the Bhadrakh subdivision the weavers are known as Bengali Tāntis (weavers) and are not original natives of the soil, from whom, however, they are at present hardly distinguishable; they migrated from Bengal and settled down in this district many years ago, but now speak the language of the country of their adoption, and have, more or less, accommodated themselves to the conditions of their environs.] They number only about 50 men all told, but

silk manufacture is their sole occupation; a man is, in fact, excommunicated for ploughing land with his own hand.

Among both these classes of men, the rearing of silk-worms or cocoons does not form any part of the industry. They purchase cocoons from the Santāls and the Bhumijes of the Garhjāts (Mayūrbhanj and Keonjhar) at the rate of about 200 per rupee, then boil them in hot water, reel them, and gradually draw all thread out of them. Afterwards they knead the thread with a paste of boiled potatoes, dye them, and weave them with ordinary looms. The articles thus manufactured, after meeting the demand of local consumers, mostly Hindus, who have to use such cloths for various religious ceremonies, are sent to the merchants of the towns of Balasore and Cuttack and to Muhammad-nagar-patnā within the Jaleswar thāna. It has been estimated that cloths to the value of Rs. 5,000 are sold by the manufacturers of this district annually. The local name of the cloth is *kantiā*.

As regards the weaving industry as a whole, it may be said that the products of the local looms cannot, at any rate in the towns and larger villages, compete with the machine-made articles of English manufacture, though some are prized for their fine texture, and hand-woven cotton cloths still hold their own in rural tracts owing to their durability. The industry is therefore not thriving, and the weavers are taking up other means of earning their livelihood in increasing numbers.

The other industries are of little importance. Mats of three kinds are made. The reed mats called *hensa* are prepared by all classes for home use, the Pāns making a large number, which they sell in the markets at one or two annas each. They are thick, and the poorer classes use them to cover them at night during the cold weather. The date-leaf mats called *pātiyā* are made by the gipsy castes, Kelās and Ahirgauras, and are sold for an anna a piece in the markets. *Chatāi* or matting of a coarse description is also made by the Rājās, Chāsas and other cultivators in Kamardachaur and Kakhrāchaur for local use. Rope is made of jute and flax by the cultivators in most parts of the district to supply their own wants, and string of coco-nut fibre and jungle grass by low caste women for sale. Palm-leaf umbrellas, hoods and hats are universally made by Chamāras and used by cultivators in the fields. The labourers prefer the hood in summer and the hat during the rains. Nets are made by fishermen for their own use, but a small cast-net manufactured in the north of the district is sent to the markets and to Balasore for sale. Baskets of reeds and bamboo are

Other
industries.

made by the low castes, some of a very large size being used for storing paddy and others of a small size for carrying purposes. Earthenware, consisting of jugs, pots, cups and other articles, is manufactured in all parts of the district by Kumbhārs and brought to market for sale. Gunny-bags were formerly made in large numbers near Chāndbāli, but they have been now displaced by the Calcutta article, which merchants find it cheaper to import. Bags called *akhā*, which are used for carrying rice, paddy or salt, are made of flax or jute, and are also used for pack-saddles. Brassware and bell-metal utensils of all descriptions, including heavy brass ornaments for women, are made by the local braziers, chiefly at Balasore, Erdā in *pargana* Sausut and Remunā. The Remunā bell-metal ware is acquiring some local reputation, and considerable quantities are exported. Ornaments of brass and bell-metal are worn by the poor and low caste women, but the manufacture is declining owing to the import and sale of German silver ornaments at a cheaper price.

Mines.

There are no mines in the district, but laterite, sandstone, gravel, etc., are quarried for building and road-metalling. The rock most generally employed for building purposes in the district is laterite. This is largely used in the construction of the walls of houses and also for buildings of greater pretensions. Few rocks present greater advantages from its peculiar character; it is easy to cut and shape when first dug, and it becomes hard and tough after exposure to the air, while it seems to be very little affected by the weather. Indeed, in many of the sculptured stones of some of the oldest buildings in Orissa, the chisel marks are as fresh and sharp as when they were first built. It is, perhaps, not so strong, nor so capable of resisting great pressure or bearing great weights, as some of the sandstones or the more compact kinds of gneiss, but it certainly possesses amply sufficient strength for all ordinary purposes. It is largely used at the present time, but has also been employed from the earliest period from which the temples and buildings of the country date, and the elaborate specimens of carving and ornament, which some of these contain, show that the nodular structure and irregular surface of the laterite does not prevent its effective use for purposes of ordinary ornamentation. It is quarried in a rude but effective way; a groove is cut with a rudely pointed pick round the slab which is to be extracted; another is made underneath, and then a few wedges are driven in to split off the block. Slabs from 4 to 5 feet long are easily procurable in this way; while the more loose and gravelly forms of laterite are used for road metal; for which they are admirably adapted.

Chlorite, known locally as *muguni*, which is found in the Nilgiri hills and in *Kidd's* Talmunda and Mangalpur, has a considerable local sale and is also exported to Calcutta. The rock yields a compact and very tough material, though fairly easy to work, and is admirably suited for fine carvings. Blocks of almost any size can be obtained, the only impediment being the difficulty of transport from the high hills on which it is generally found. The most general use of this rock at present, however, is for the manufacture of plates, bowls, basins, etc., which are in common use all over the country. The tools employed in the manufacture of these are of the rudest kind; a short round bar of iron pointed at one end and a wooden mallet suffice to procure from the rock a piece of size sufficient for a plate or bowl. This is rudely cut into the intended form by the quarryman on the spot, and the half-finished materials are brought down from the quarries or holes on the hill-side and finished by different workmen in the villages below. This is done partly by hand with finer tools, partly on a simple lathe. The finished plates, etc., are then transported to the markets by the merchants who deal in these articles.

In the early days of the English settlement, in what Sir William Hunter calls "the era of armed industry," the trade of Balasore was practically limited to the small area held by the factories. "Every year," he writes, "our factors made their advances in good English silver, and got together an 'investment' in country goods. High profits covered the losses which the marauding soldiery now and then inflicted on us, when they burned a weaving village which had got an advance from the factory, or speared a few hundred artisans working at our expense. Indeed, the universal misery of the Province rather strengthened our hands. The only safe place for quiet people was the English factory. Industry and commerce gathered themselves together around it, and manufacturing hamlets nestled within the shadow of its walls." These interruptions to the peaceful progress of English trade became, however, very serious when the Maráthás burst down upon Orissa. In 1748 the Maráthá horse attacked the factory at Balarámgarhi; in 1750 the Resident at Balasore reported that owing to the Maráthá raids he could not "purchase any ready-money goods, as the weavers or greater part of them have been obliged to abscond;" and again in 1753 he wrote asking for 1,500 or 2,000 maunds of rice as the weavers of Balasore were complaining of the great scarcity of rice and provisions of all kinds occasioned by the devastations of the Maráthás who had plundered Balasore; "several weavers," he added, "have

TRADE.

Trade
under the
Maráthás.

brought their looms into the factory, and the few who remain declare that they shall be obliged to quit the place." Outside the factories the trade of the country was paralyzed by the oppressions of the local officials. However cheap might be the inland markets, the tolls and custom houses on the roads and rivers made the goods too dear for exportation; and anything like internal trade was rendered impossible by the incessant black-mail which was levied. Besides the royal officers who imposed a tax at every few miles, each petty proprietor through whose estate the route lay lined the road with rapacious myrmidons; and in the short journey of 103 miles from Balasore to Cuttack the tolls amounted to nearly a third of the total value of the goods.

Trade
under
British
rule.

When the British finally conquered Orissa, the only trade worthy of the name was an export trade, chiefly in rice and salt. Considerable quantities of these articles were still exported from the ports, which were chiefly frequented by three kinds of craft, viz., Maldivé vessels, which brought cowries, coco-nuts, coral and dried fish, and took back rice and earthen pots; the sloops which carried the Government salt to Calcutta; and sloops, built at Contai and Hijili, which only came in the cold season and carried rice to Calcutta. The Rajā of Kanikā carried on a considerable trade in rice on his own account, and large numbers of swine and cattle found their way by land to the Calcutta market. The export trade, however, gradually dwindled down to a fraction of its former importance, and in 1813 the Collector reported that the only articles exported were rice and a little salt (about three lakhs worth) and that trade was hardly known even by name. The internal trade was equally limited and was confined to the supply of rice and other articles of every-day use or consumption to the towns, and the mutual exchange of surplus produce and articles of home manufacture at the *hāts* or markets in the interior.

During the early days of British administration, however, Balasore was in a far better position than the adjoining district of Cuttack, which was in constant want of supplies and frequently on the verge of famine. Time after time urgent calls were made on Balasore for rice, and pilgrims had to be warned of the scarcity in Cuttack and directed to supply themselves with provisions before entering it. There was, however, no scarcity 20 miles north of the Mahānadi; at Balasore rice sold at 65 seers for the rupee; there was enough in store for three years' consumption; and there were immense stocks at Dhāmra and Churāman intended for export to Madras. For a long time, however, the produce of the country had but little access to the inland markets

outside the district, and even in the district there was very little trade between markets remote from each other. The Jagannāth road and the road to the Madras Presidency were the principal trade routes and pilgrim routes, but except for these, there were very few roads, and those so called were little better than primitive footpaths. Under these conditions, trade was naturally confined within the narrow limits imposed by the small carrying capacity of the country carts and pack-bullocks. The famine of 1866 and the inquiries that followed taught the authorities the imperative necessity of bringing the trade of the country in close touch with other parts. The vigorous measures that have since been adopted in opening up roads and canals have been of the greatest benefit to the country. The development of the ports at Chāndbali, False-Point and Balasore, and the improved facilities of canal communication with the first two ports, have created a market for produce, and have brought into existence foreign trade, with its agencies and sub-agencies, through the influence of which prices in the interior now rise and fall in close sympathy with the foreign markets.

The chief imports are salt, sugar, European piece-goods, wearing apparel, cotton yarn, hardware, and Indian products, such as gunny-bags, coco-nut oil, spices, *ghi*, drugs and raw cotton. The largest imports are salt, which is brought in large quantities from Madras, and European piece-goods; and the principal export is rice, which in favourable seasons is despatched in enormous quantities, by sea, canal and railway. Other exports are hides; jute, oil-seeds, timber and stoneware. A considerable quantity of the grain exported comes from the Garhjāts, and several traders from Balasore visit Nilgiri and Mayūrbhanj and purchase the crops upon the fields. At Chāndbali also it is a common practice for the exporters to send out agents among the villages, who purchase the crops before they are reaped by making advances to the cultivators. Rice is shipped oversea to Ceylon and Mauritius, and sugar is obtained from the latter island by merchants who keep up a connection with Muhammadan traders controlling the sugar industry there; but with these exceptions, trade, both import and export, is carried on chiefly with Calcutta and Madras. The greater part of the sea-borne trade consists of imports, and its total value fell from 67 lakhs in 1900-01 to 53½ lakhs in 1904-05, the value of imports declining from Rs. 42,70,000 to Rs. 27,67,000. On the other hand, the value of the exports rose from 24½ lakhs to 25½ lakhs in the same period, in consequence of the large export of rice to foreign ports. The year 1905-06 witnessed an

Imports
and ex-
ports.

expansion of the sea-borne trade both as regards imports and exports, the value of the latter being 33½ lakhs and of the former 28½ lakhs, the total increase amounting to 8½ lakhs; but it is reported that there is little hope of the import trade being able to withstand the competition of the railway, which is securing more and more of the traffic.

Trade
routes.

The trade of the district used to be carried on by means of native coasters plying to and from Calcutta and Madras by sea, but when the Coast Canal afforded greater facilities for trade, a great deal of the traffic was transferred to country boats using the canal; this circumstance, as well as the silting up of the mouths of several rivers, led to the minor ports of Subarnarekhā, Churāman, Sārathā, Laichanpur and Chhānuyā being closed in 1888. The railway, however, has now established direct communication with Calcutta and Madras; it has supplanted the canal as the chief artery of commerce; and the main trade is that which is carried out of the district and brought into it by this route. At the same time, a busy trade is still carried on by sea from the port of Chāndbālī, which is used by steamers and sailing vessels plying to and from the ports along the coast of Burma, Bengal, Madras and Bombay, as well as Ceylon, the Laccadive and Maldivé Islands and Mauritius.

Trade
centres.

Besides Balasore and Chāndbālī, which are the chief centres of the sea-borne trade, there are minor ports at Māndhātā and Batanga on the Coast Canal, Bālīāpāl on the Matai and Bārabātīā on the Guchidā river. A small export trade is also carried on at Talpadā, Inchuri and a few other villages along the Coast Canal, at Churākhāi on a tidal creek connecting with the Pānchpāra, and at Panchrukhi on a tidal creek connecting with the Subarnarekhā near Jāmkundā. The most important entrepôts for inland trade in the north of the district are Balasore, Singla, Deulā and Shāhaji near Balasore; and in the south Bhadrakh, Chāndbālī, Jhāmjhāri and Turigariā. It is likely, however, that in the course of the next few years new markets will spring up in proximity to the railway stations, and that some now existing in less convenient situations will decline.

At present, the greater part of the local trade is carried on at the various *hāts* or markets scattered throughout the interior. These markets, though generally not of any great size, are conveniently situated for the supply of local wants and as centres at which grain is collected for export. The commodities ordinarily exhibited for sale include cottons of local and English manufacture, brass and bell-metal utensils and ornaments, kerosene oil, provisions of all sorts, such as

paddy, rice, salt, spices, molasses, dried fish, vegetables, fruit, fresh fish, castor and mustard oil, gram, confectionery, fried rice, milk, *pān* for chewing, earthenware pottery, blacksmiths-ware, mats, brooms, fuel, cheap finery, hair oil, mirrors, combs, soap, needles, pins, tobacco, scrap iron, cotton thread, string, rope, and small utensils and lamps made of tin. At markets of a larger size there is often a trade in special articles, including cattle, timber, charcoal, yarn, tamarind, resin, drugs, medicines, *ghī*, and Oriyā books and tracts sold by missionaries; while Kabuli peddlars sell warm cloths of various descriptions in the cold weather. The regular shop-keepers do a lucrative trade and make a profit of from 50 to 100 per cent.

From noon till 9 o'clock at night the Oriyā market presents a busy scene. The traders set out their wares each in his appointed place. The drummer and flute-blower make music at every shop in turn and receive a few pies or some of the small articles exposed for sale. The sweeper collects a similar contribution. The village postman attends to deliver letters, and zamindars' peons to press the ryots for their rents. People, women predominating, flock in with rice or fish for sale and to make purchases for their families. The *dandidār* or weigher appointed to supervise the market goes round to receive his commissions on the sales or to give his opinion on the rates to prevail for the day. The *gumastha* of the zamindar or the *ijaradar* who has taken a lease of the market, collects his fees (*tolā*) in kind or cash or sometimes a stipulated annual rent from every shop. The money-changer exhibits piles of small coins and cowries, and a shop-keeper may be seen bartering his goods in exchange for articles of domestic use. The average attendance at the larger markets is probably 700 to 800, and people come to them from a distance of 10 or 12 miles.

CHAPTER X.

MEANS OF COMMUNICATION.

DEVELOP-
MENT OF
COMMUNI-
CATIONS. WHEN the British conquered Orissa in 1803, it was practically isolated from the rest of India, and there was but little internal communication. In spite of the long sea-face, few vessels ventured to put in at the surf-beaten coast, and no measures were taken to survey the harbours or ascertain the capabilities of its estuaries. Traffic along the rivers, then as now, was rendered difficult by the enormous volume of water brought down in the rains and by the fact that in the dry season they dwindle in their upper reaches to small streams running through broad sandy beds. In addition, however, to the natural difficulties of the river route, the vexatious imposts and transit-dues of the Marāthās, as well as the blackmail which they levied, made it impossible for the boatmen to ply their trade with any profit, and these natural channels were little used. Throughout the district there was not a road, in the modern sense of the word, in existence. What were then called roads were mere fair-weather cart tracks without bridges; and the pilgrims to Puri, who are now quickly transported there by the railway, were forced to follow the dangerous route through Nilgiri and Mayūrbhanj, which in many places passed through dense jungles infested by tigers and other wild animals.

The first step taken to remedy this state of affairs was the construction of the great Orissa Trunk Road, which was sanctioned in 1811 and completed in 1825. It was not metalled, however, and was not properly bridged. According to an account written in 1841, "the bridges, with the exception of two or three large pukka ones, are exceedingly rude and insecure, consisting of a few posts with planks laid across, or large rings made of baked clay, over which earth is thrown and turfed; they are constantly giving way from the timber rotting or the rings breaking. At Choaraman there were three small iron chain bridges erected by Mr. Ricketts, but two of them have gone to decay, and the third is in a dilapidated state. With the exception of this road, there are none deserving the name, for they are all merely paths; trade

between the town and villages is carried on with bullocks, banghy and coolies; hackeries, for the want of roads, are seldom, if ever, used." Twelve years later Mr. Ricketts dryly remarked that "there is no travelling on this road for pleasure, and for eight months of the year it is in such a state that no merchants attempt to move goods by it."

The terrible deficiency of communications which still existed as late as 1866 was made apparent in the great Orissa famine when it was said that "the people were shut in between pathless jungles and impracticable seas, and were like passengers in a ship without provisions." The state of affairs at that time was graphically described by the Famine Commissioners of 1867 as follows:—
 "The whole province is geographically isolated to an excessive degree. To the north and north-west the hill tracts merge into countries more hilly, wild and inaccessible, by which they are separated effectually from Central and Northern India. On the other side, the nature of the coast and the sea is such as effectually to stop all native traffic for the major part of the year. With one exception—False Point—there is no protected anchorage of any kind, and that exception may be said to be in some sense almost a recent discovery. Such being the difficulties on either side of the length of Orissa, the only ordinary mode of communication with the outside world is by the route traversing its length. That, however, is so much intersected by the streams already mentioned, and has been hitherto so little rendered practicable by art, that it is comparatively little used by wheeled carriages; pack-bullocks still predominate at all times; in the rainy season wheeled traffic is quite impracticable; and when the rains are heavy, even pack-bullocks cannot be used. At this day the European officer who cannot obtain a special steamer must find his way into Orissa slowly and tediously, as ancient officers may have travelled in the days of Asoka, and the very post takes several days between Calcutta and Cuttack."

State of
affairs in
1866.

The famine of 1866 directed attention to the state of all the Orissa districts, and measures were taken to prevent the recurrence of a similar disaster, roads being opened up, the coast surveyed, and canals constructed. The communication with the outside world which was thus established effectually broke in upon the isolation of Orissa, and more recently the Bengal-Nagpur Railway has extended its system through the district. It is now amply provided with means of communication by the railway and an extensive system of roads and canals, but the most pressing want is the improvement of existing roads so as to make them passable the year round. This, however, is a very difficult and

expensive task in a delta like Orissa, intersected by a network of rivers, many of which cannot be bridged except at a prohibitive cost, and which periodically overflow their banks and inundate the surrounding country.

**WATER
COMMUNI-
CATIONS.**

**Ports and
harbours.**

At the commencement of the 19th century Balasore was the only port of which Orissa could boast, and it was frequented chiefly by vessels from Madras, which put in for cargoes of rice, and by the Laccadive and Maldivé islanders, from whom the cowries then used extensively for currency were obtained. The development of trade and the opening up of the country after the great famine of 1866 led to the establishment of several other ports; and 30 years ago there were said to be seven principal ports—Subarnarekhā, Sārathā, Chhānuyā (Chhaunā), Balasore, Laichanpur, Churāman and Dhāmra. Owing to the silting of the river mouths, to the construction of the Coast Canal, which facilitated the silting while it provided a new waterway, and to the abandonment of salt manufacture, some of these ports have ceased to exist, while the position of others has been changed. Thus Subarnarekhā is now represented by Batanga and Māndhātā on the Coast Canal and by Bārabātia on the Guchidā river; Pānchpāra has taken the place of Sārathā; Chhānuyā, Laichanpur, and Churāman have ceased to exist; a new port has formed at Bāliapāl on the Matāi river; and Chāndbāli has absorbed the trade of the old port of Dhāmra, situated 15 miles lower down the river at the confluence of the Matāi.

Chāndbāli and Balasore are the only ports of any importance. In 1905-06, 163 vessels with a tonnage of 35,500 tons entered and 165 vessels with a tonnage of 36,500 tons cleared these ports, the value of the imports and exports being 28½ lakhs and 33½ lakhs respectively. The ports which trade with Chāndbāli and Balasore are Calcutta, the coast ports from Bombay on the west to Arakan on the east, and foreign ports, such as the Maldivé islands, Ceylon, and occasionally Mauritius. [Nearly all of this trade, however, is focused at Chāndbāli, which is the chief port of Orissa; and Balasore is declining owing to the advent of the railway, which now practically monopolizes all the export trade.]

Passenger traffic is entirely confined to Chāndbāli, which is served by steamers of the India General Navigation and Railway Company and of the Rivers Steam Navigation Company. These steamer services ply thrice a week between Chāndbāli and Calcutta, and in 1905-06 brought 41,500 passengers, while 40,800 persons took their passages to Calcutta. Their number is gradually decreasing, as passengers prefer the railway journey to a se-

voyage, especially during the south-west monsoon. There is a light at Chandipur and another on Shortt's Island at the mouth of the Dhāmra.

Notwithstanding the numerous rivers which intersect the district, there is no great inland river traffic in Balasore. The reason for this, apparently, is that during the rains they become dangerous for navigation owing to the high floods they bring down; and during the rest of the year their current is sluggish and the volume of water small. The larger rivers have sufficient water to enable boats to ply along the lower reaches, and there is a fair amount of traffic in tidal waters; but the other rivers are, on the whole, too shallow or too uncertain to be very largely used, and they do not possess any great value as trade routes. On this account, the use of boats is restricted, and the people have long been accustomed to carry on internal traffic by means of pack-bullocks and carts. Rivers.

The rivers most used for purposes of navigation are the Dhāmra and the Baitarani, which connect Chāndbali with the sea, but along the Baitarani traffic is mainly confined to the lower tidal reaches; in the hot weather the upper reaches are very shallow, and the small depth of water allows only small boats to ply along them. Further north, the Matāi, a river which connects with the Coast Canal at Chārbātia and thence flows into the Dhāmra at its junction with the Baitarani, is a good navigable channel affording communication between the Coast Canal and Chāndbali, and also with Cuttack. It is a tidal river as far as Ruknādeipur, 8 miles east of Bhadrakh, up to which point it is navigated by numerous country boats carrying goods to and from Chāndbali. [Neither the Sālandi, however, nor the Rebo and Kapāli carry any volume of water in the hot weather above the village of Kānpura half way between Bhadrakh and Chāndbali; up to that place they are tidal, and country boats ply to and from Chāndbali at all seasons of the year, while there is also a considerable amount of traffic with Bhadrakh, which lies on the Sālandi.] The Burābalang again is tidal and navigable, ordinarily up to the town of Balasore and a little further during the rains; while the Pāncpāra is tidal and navigable throughout the year as far as Churākhāi, 6 miles above Sulpatta. The Sārathā is tidal as far as the Coast Canal; and the Subarnārekā, the most northerly of the Balasore rivers, is navigable for country boats up to the ferry of Kalikāpur, 15 miles from its mouth.

The canal connecting the old port of Churāman with the Matāi Canals. river has fallen into disrepair, but both the Coast Canal and High Level Canal are navigable. The Coast Canal, which connects the

Highly at Geonkhali with the Matsai at Chārbātia, has a range of 71 miles, and the High Level Canal, which runs as far as Bhadrakh, a length of 19 miles within the district. Two companies used to maintain a steamer service along the Coast Canal between Balasore and Chāndbali; and there was a bi-weekly steamer transport service under the control of the Public Works Department along the High Level Canal between Bhadrakh and Cuttack, but with the opening of the railway, passengers ceased to use the former route, and the merchants abandoned the latter means of transport. These steamer services have consequently been discontinued. Traffic along the canals is now confined to country boats, and their number has decreased owing to the competition of the railway.

RAIL- WAYS.

The Bengal-Nāgpur Railway runs through the district from north to south and connects it with Calcutta and Madras and with the Central Provinces *via* Sini. Its length within the district is 88 miles, and it has 10 stations, viz., Jellasore (Jaleswar), Mayūrbhanj Road, Bastā, Rupsā Junction, Balasore, Khantāpara, Soro, Mārkunā, Bhadrakh and Kenduāpadā. Three passenger trains run daily up and down along this line, which is the main line between Calcutta and Madras. The work of construction was commenced in 1895-96, and was completed in 1899 as far as Balasore is concerned, the line being opened for goods and passenger traffic in October 1899. The only other railway in the district is the Mayūrbhanj State Light Railway, a light 2' 6" gauge railway connecting Bāripadā, the principal town of the Tributary State of Mayūrbhanj, with Rupsā Junction. This line, which was opened at the end of 1904, was constructed entirely by the Chief of Mayūrbhanj, but is at present being worked for him by the Bengal-Nāgpur Railway. Its total length is 33 miles, and one passenger train passes each way daily; its chief use is to bring down timber from the forests of Mayūrbhanj.

ROADS.

The Orissa Trunk Road.

The principal road is the Orissa Trunk Road, which runs for a length of 95 miles from end to end of the district and affords communication with Midnapore and Calcutta on the north and with Cuttack, Puri and Ganjam on the south. It was built by Captain Sackville between 1812 and 1820, the portion between Cuttack and Bhadrakh being completed in 1819, and from the latter place to beyond Balasore in the following year. The metalling of the road was not completed, however, for 40 years, and the soling also appears to have been insufficient.

The only route to Puri from Northern India, this road exhibited a constant stream of passenger traffic till 40 years ago. For the accommodation of these pilgrims, there were *sarais* at

Rajhat, Bastā, Balasore, Bhadrakh and Akshuāpada, built in 1827 at the expense of a wealthy Bengali Hindu, who also provided funds for the construction of many of the bridges, which to this day bear inscriptions recording his name and munificence. It is curious that these are almost the only works of public benefit, the outcome of private charity, to be found in this district, and it is significant that they are due to the generosity of a foreigner. The construction of these *sarais* and bridges must have done much to alleviate the distress and misery of the wretched pilgrims, returning from Jagannāth enfeebled by long months of travel, weakened by the rancid *mahāprasād* of the holy city, and exposed to all the evils of the rainy season, swollen and impassable rivers, cholera and starvation. The *sarais* have long since been abandoned, and all have disappeared; at Bastā only there is still to be seen a row of dilapidated buildings surrounding a square courtyard overgrown with jungle. There also existed originally along the side of the road a number of fine brick culverts leading over the road-side nullahs to the neighbouring villages. These too have all been allowed to fall into decay, and scarcely any are now standing. With the inauguration of steamer services between Calcutta and Cuttack in the sixties, the Trunk Road lost its importance as a pilgrim route, and of late years only a small number have travelled by it. Now that the railway is open, scarcely any pilgrims are to be seen, except an occasional *fakir* measuring his length along the road upon his toilsome journey southwards.

The chief traffic of the road lies between Soro and Balasore. The former place is the central market of the Bānchās Ogar *pargana*; here paddy is collected for transmission by cart to Balasore, and hither come imports in the shape of oil and salt for distribution at the bazar and in the neighbouring markets. Pack-bullocks and occasional carts on their way to Balasore from Ambahatā and the neighbourhood join the road a mile south of Soro. Upon the road as a whole, however, the local traffic is inconsiderable. Each branch road and country track supplies a small quota of carts, or more usually of pack-bullocks on their way to Balasore or Bhadrakh; and in the north of the district many Santali carts and coolies may be seen, coming from the Tributary States to Balasore with loads of timber, faggots, paddy, charcoal and other goods, such as horns, honey, fowls and hides, and returning with oil, salt and cloths. But the main volume of traffic is to or from places at a distance. Thus large herds of cattle start from Bhadrakh on their way to the Calcutta market, and long trains of carts pass with hides consigned

to the same destination, as well as to Midnapore, from which they bring back mats manufactured in that neighbourhood to Bhadrakh and Cuttack.

District
roads.

The Trunk Road is in charge of the Public Works Department, which is responsible for the maintenance of 103 miles of metalled road; while the District Board maintains 38 roads with a total length of 307 miles. With the exception of 40 miles, these roads are unmetalled, but in proportion to area Balasore has the largest percentage of metalled roads of any of the Orissa districts.

Many of the district roads are fair-weather roads impassable for cart traffic during the rains, and in the north they are subject to damage from the floods of the Subarnarekhā. The Kamardā-Baliāpāl, Baliāpāl-Bastā, Kamardā-Jaleswar and Singlā-Nangaleswar roads are the most important in this part of the district, since they connect the local markets with the Trunk Road and the railway, but they are chiefly used by pack-bullocks. South of these the principal roads are the Pānchpāra-Haldipadā road and the road from Balasore to Mitrāpur in Nilgiri, which passes through the important bazar of Remunā. Further south, there is a short branch road leading to Nilgiri, and at the 16th mile of the Trunk Road below Balasore the road to Tālpadā on the Coast Canal branches off.

At Soro four roads converge, one from Gopināthpur on the borders of Nilgiri, another from Anantapur on the east, a third stretching to the south-west and passing through Ambahatā to Bhadrakh, and the fourth running through Soro bazar and joining the Trunk Road 5 miles lower down at Jāmjhāri market. At this place a road branches off to Bāsudebpur on the Coast Canal, where it meets the old Salt Road from Balasore, which is now extended as far as Bhadrakh. It was by means of this road that Balasore used to derive its supply of the salt manufactured in the *arangs* of the south-east. At a point midway between Jāmjhāri and Bhadrakh a road runs westwards to Kupāri market in Ambahatā; and at Bhadrakh the roads from Bāsudebpur and Ambahatā converge, as well as two roads from Keonjhar on the west and Chāndbali on the east. A few miles south runs the road to Dhāmnagar, and near the point where the Trunk Road crosses the canal a road has recently been constructed to Jāipur.

Perhaps the most important trade route is that between Bhadrakh and Chāndbali. The surplus produce of the south-east of the district finds its way to Bhadrakh, and from this place most of it is sent for export to Chāndbali, either *via* Ruknādeipur on the Bāsudebpur road, whence it is carried in boats down the

Matai and up the Dhāmra, or *via* Kānpura on the Chāndbali road, whence it travels by the Sālandi. Traffic is, therefore, very heavy along these portions of the Bāsudebpur and Chāndbali roads—on the former as far as Ruknādeipur and on the latter as far as Tihirihāt—but being unmetalled they are extremely difficult for cart traffic after heavy rain. The produce of the south-east goes direct to Chāndbali along the country roads and tidal creeks, and the next collecting centre is Soro, whence the produce is carried to Balasore. In the north of the district there is no main centre, but produce gathers at the local markets and is sent for export at the various ports already mentioned.

In addition to the District Board roads, there are a number of village roads, with a total length of 187 miles, under the District Board and the Balasore and Bhadrakh Local Boards. These are nearly all fair-weather roads, occasionally banked, but generally consisting of mere cart-tracks across the fields.

There are 18 ferries under the control of the District Board, the leases being disposed of annually by auction. The most important are those at Phulwār and Rājghāt, where the Trunk Road crosses the Burābalang and Subarnarekhā respectively. At Phulwār, which is situated 3 miles north of Balasore, the main road to Mayūrbhanj branches off, and coolies, pack-bullocks and Santālī carts with solid wheels of a primitive type, come down in great numbers from Mayūrbhanj, bringing faggots, charcoal, *sal* timber and paddy for disposal in Balasore town. The receipts from this ferry are consequently greater than from Rājghāt, though the Subarnarekhā is not fordable, while the Phulwār ferry is easily fordable for 7 months in the year.

Another ferry of some importance is that of the Sālandi at Bhadrakh, which plies only during the rains, the Sālandi bed being quite dry in the hot weather; and among others may be mentioned that of South Bāliāpāl over the Matai, which is fordable at no time during the year, and that of Bāliāghāt over the Burābalang, opposite Balasore town. At the former all the rice brought from the Ankurā *pargana* and some from Kūlā Kanikā is transported on its way to Chāndbali. On the Subarnarekhā at the crossing of the Bāliāpāl-Kamardā road is the ferry of Kālikāpur, which is also unfordable, the river being tidal up to this point.

In 1830 the only public bungalows existing were those at Balasore and Bāripadā. The latter was a posting station and half-way house for travellers between Cuttack and Balasore, being about 50 miles distant from each. At the present day the district contains no less than 34 inspection bungalows, including the road

and canal bungalows maintained by the Public Works Department and those under the District Board.

POSTAL
COMMUNI-
CATIONS.

There are altogether 256½ miles of postal communication and 34 post-offices in the district, but postal facilities are as yet inadequate to the area and population, and there is room for opening many more post-offices. The number of letters delivered in 1905-06 was 535,000 and of post-cards 330,000, in addition to 60,000 packets, 95,000 newspapers and 11,000 parcels. The value of the money-orders issued in the same year was Rs. 7,78,000 and of those paid nearly Rs. 8,10,000. On the 31st March 1905 altogether 2,906 accounts had been opened in the Savings Banks, the deposits amounting to Rs. 3,78,000, or 5·6 annas per head of the population, as compared with 5·5 annas in Cuttack and 2·4 annas in Puri ; and in 1905-06 the deposits aggregated Rs. 71,700. There are 7 postal-telegraph offices, situated at Akshuāpadā, Bālīāpāl, Balasore, Bastā, Bhadrakh, Chāndbāli and Jaleswar.

CHAPTER XI.

LAND REVENUE ADMINISTRATION.

In the time of the Hindu kings of Orissa, the country was divided into two administrative divisions, viz., the military fiefs, composed of the hilly tracts on the western border together with a strip along the sea coast on the east; and the Crown lands, consisting of the more fertile alluvial plain running through the centre of the Province. The former had been granted to military chiefs by the reigning sovereign, on condition that they protected the border and furnished contingents to the State army in time of war. They had the full disposal of the land, and they may be regarded as proprietors in the completest sense of the word, having the title of *bhuiyā*, or, as translated by the Mughals, *samindār* or landholder. The other and more valuable portion of the country, comprising the greater part of the present districts of Balasore, Cuttack and Puri, was regarded as the property of the Crown, and the revenue was appropriated to meeting the expenses of the ruling prince and his establishment. The rents were collected from the ryots or cultivators and paid into the royal treasury by hereditary officials, who were also entrusted with the police administration of the villages under them.

HINDU
REVENUE
SYSTEM.

The unit of the system was the revenue village consisting of a collection of houses, and the land, cultivated or waste, attached to it. A group of villages made up a district, called *khand* or *bisi*; the names of some of these fiscal divisions still survive in certain of the names of the *parganas*, such as Nun-khand and Derābisi. Over the *khand* or *bisi* were two principal officials, the *khandpatī* or *bishayī* and the *bhoi-māl*, the former of whom had to deal mainly with police administration, and the latter with revenue collections, though the two were considered jointly responsible for the payment of the revenue into the royal treasury. Each revenue village was similarly presided over by two corresponding officials, the *pradhān* or police officer, and the *bhoi* or accountant, who paid in the village revenues to the

administrators of the *bisi*. These hereditary officials, who merely collected the rents, and, in virtue of their office, enjoyed certain perquisites, have, together with many others in more recent times, come to be styled zamindars and proprietors. The only persons, however, who could with strict accuracy be called proprietors of the land are the ancient *bhuiyās* in respect of the military fiefs and the sovereign as the owner of the *khālsa* or Crown lands.

MUHAM-
MADAN
REVENUE
SYSTEM.

When the Mughals took the country, a regular settlement of the Mughalbandi, as the Crown lands were now called, was begun in 1582 by Todar Mal and was concluded in 1591 by Mān Singh, another Hindu viceroy of the Emperor Akbar. The lands held as military fiefs, which were known as the Rājwāra, were for the most part left untouched, but in the Mughalbandi the revenue system was reorganized, the *khands* or *bisis* became *parganas*, and the revenue villages became *mauzas*; the *khandpati* or superior police officer received the title of *chaudhri*, the *bhoi-māl* or chief accountant that of *wilāyati kāmungo*, and the *pradhān* that of *mukaddam*. Where a *pargana*, on account of its size, was divided into two or more portions, each having a separate set of *pargana* officials, these subdivisions were called *tāluka*, and the officials *tālukdārs*,—a name subsequently applied to all the *pargana* officials. The system of collection remained radically the same except that *sadr* or principal *kāmungos*, with a *gumāshta* or deputy in each *pargana*, were appointed as a controlling agency to check the ordinary rent-collecting establishments. The *parganas* again were grouped under the three main divisions or *sarkārs* of Cuttack, Balasore and Jaleswar, each of which was in charge of an *āmil* or chief executive officer.

MARATHA
REVENUE
SYSTEM.

In 1751 Orissa became a Marāthā Province under the control of a *subahdār*. Balasore was divided into three *chaklās* or circles, viz., Bhadrakh, Soro and Balasore. These again were subdivided into *parganas*, each of which included a varying number of *tāluka*s. An officer called *āmil* was responsible for the revenue of each *chaklā* and was assisted by a *sadr kāmungo*, under whom again was a *gumāshta* (also known as *wilāyati kāmungo*) who collected the revenue from the different villages. It was not long before the Marāthās commenced to oust the *tālukdārs* on the ground of unpunctuality in payment of the revenue; and towards the close of their rule it also became a common practice to take engagements direct from the village headmen or *mukaddams*, who had previously paid through the *tālukdārs*. About one-eighth of the total revenue-paying area was so held by *mukaddams*; and though it had previously been the custom to make a detailed

yearly computation of the rentals on which the latter were allowed a percentage for the expenses of collection, towards the close of the 18th century the *āmils* found it convenient to take engagements from them for a lump sum. This custom was also followed to some extent with those *talukdars* who were fortunate enough to be left in possession of their estates. It was Rājā Rām Pandit, described by Stirling as the most enlightened of the Marāthā *sūbahdars*, who first commenced to dispense with the *talukdars* as collecting agents in 1773, and subsequently most of them were dispossessed, the *wilāyati kānungos* making the collections direct from the ryots and paying them over to the *āmils* through the *sadr kānungos*. During the same period also the Marāthās introduced another practice, which resulted in the disappearance of a large number of these hereditary officials. The *sadr kānungo*, who generally stood security for the payment of revenue by the *talukdars*, was allowed, in cases of default, to take over the *taluk* on payment by him of the arrear, and the result was that at the British accession, both *sadr* and *wilāyati kānungos* were found in possession of a large number of estates acquired in this manner.

Briefly, it may be said that the rule of the Marāthās gradually destroyed the fabric of civil administration built by the Mughals. All their efforts were directed towards extorting from the conquered Province the utmost it could pay; and peasants and officials alike were subjected to every exaction that ingenuity could suggest. Cultivation was attended with no security, rights were everywhere neglected and denied, the peasant was accustomed to regard a demand for rent not as a legitimate tax but as an exorbitant extortion, and the policy of his rulers taught him a contempt for right and a disregard for civil duty.

The misrule of the Marāthās led not only to the impoverishment of the country, but also to a mistrust of the governing power on the part of the people. One result of this was that, when the British conquered the Province in 1803 and approached the question of its settlement, no revenue documents were obtainable from the officials, except certain *jamābandi* papers or records of assessment made over by the chief *kānungo* of the Marāthā government. No knowledge was, therefore, gained of the various rights of the *talukdars* or of the different tenures and titles of other collecting officers. Stirling's Minute of 1821 was the first attempt made to deal exhaustively with the subject, and it was not until the settlement of 1837-41 that rights and titles were finally settled and adjusted. Meanwhile, all was confusion. The Marāthā *āmils*, *sadr kānungos*, *talukdars* and *mukaddams* were all intent

EARLY
ENGLISH
ADMINI-
STRATION.

on preserving for their own use the information which should have been in the hands of Government. Some were busy in establishing a proprietary title which had never existed, others in furthering a claim to hold rent-free lands liable to assessment. The hands of most were against their neighbours, and every man's hand was against the Government.

Early
settle-
ments,

The first settlement of the Province, which was for one year only, was concluded early in 1805 and was followed by a number of temporary settlements. A triennial settlement was first concluded, and then in 1808-09 another settlement was made for one year, which was afterwards continued for a further period of three years. Other settlements followed in quick succession—in 1812-13, for one year; in 1813-14, for two years; in 1815-16, for one year; in 1816-17, for three years; in 1819-20, for three years; and in 1822-23, for five years. The history of these early settlements is an unfortunate record of assessment on insufficient enquiry and of the enforcement of inelastic rules for the realization of inequitable revenues. The Collector had no reliable information as to the real assets of the estates, for the zamindars and *amils* combined to withhold all papers, and he had to proceed on a very rough estimate of the quantity of land in cultivation and on the reports of interested subordinates. The evils arising from such ignorance of the real circumstances of the people, from the general disorganization of administration and the severity of the assessment were aggravated by the stringency of the Bengal Regulations and sale laws.

Under the rule of the Mughals and Maráthás the persons whom we recognized as proprietors of the soil were, in theory at least, officers of Government, responsible to it for the revenue they collected, and, accordingly, they were not entitled to any remission. But, when droughts or serious floods occurred, the cultivator did not pay his rent, and there is reason to believe that the native rulers recognized such calamities as a valid excuse for short payments, so that the actual collections always fell short of the full demand. When we first conquered the Province, the Bengal Regulations were extended to it, and the assessment, which under the Maráthás had included a considerable margin for remissions and deductions, became a fixed and invariable debt which the zamindar had to discharge to the day on pain of losing his estate, in spite of the fact that Orissa is peculiarly liable to suffer from the extremes of drought and flood. The consequences of this attempt to engraft the rigid administration of a permanently settled Province on a country and people wholly unsuited to it were disastrous. Arrears accumulated rapidly, and in 1806

began the system of putting up defaulting estates for sale in Calcutta, a policy which allowed Bengali speculators to buy valuable properties at low prices. Some of the oldest families of Orissa were ruined; one after another their estates were sold up and passed into the hands of Bengali adventurers; and the hardships of the revenue system being increased by repeated droughts, even these failed to pay the revenue, and the collections fell far short of the revenue demands.

In 1817 the people broke out in what is known as the Khurdá rebellion, and this rising served to bring home to the authorities the deep discontent and real grievances of the Oriyās. In Regulation VII of 1822 Government shortly afterwards proclaimed its intention of concluding a settlement based on a detailed investigation into the circumstances of the Province and a determination of the rights of all parties. Preparations for this settlement were commenced as early as 1830, and it was held to run from 1837, although the proceedings were not finally completed before 1845. The settlement cost upwards of 20 lakhs, and the result was an increase of revenue of only Rs. 34,980 for all three districts. [In Balasore it was found that the cultivated area dealt with amounted to 554,000 acres, of which 493,200 acres were assessed. The demand was fixed at Rs. 3,77,290, the incidence of revenue being annas 12-3 per acre.]

The settlement thus concluded was made for 30 years and expired in the year 1867, but the great Orissa famine of the year 1865-66 rendered it inadvisable to undertake re-settlement operations when the former settlement was drawing to a close, and that settlement was accordingly prolonged for another thirty years. The history of the rapid recovery of the Province from the horrors of the great famine has subsequently shown that this extreme leniency was scarcely needed, and that a re-settlement might well have been made some twenty-five years ago, to the advantage of Government and without undue harassment of the people. The result of the excessive prolongation of the former settlement was the exclusion of Government for a lengthy period from its fair share of the produce of the soil, and the retention by the landlord classes in Orissa during the same period of profits to which they had no equitable right. During the sixty years of the currency of the settlement of 1837, the district developed in every direction in spite of the disaster of 1866, cultivation extended by 40 per cent., communications were greatly improved, bringing an increase in the volume of trade, and the prices of staple food-crops were trebled, securing largely increased profits to the cultivators.

Settlement
of 1837.

SETTLE-
MENT OF
1867.

The last settlement of the Province was a work of great magnitude; the operations extended over a period of 10 years, from the end of 1889 to the end of 1899, and over an area of 5,000 square miles; rents were settled for a million and a half of tenants, and the Government revenue on nearly six and a half thousand estates. In this district the area assessed was 692,200 acres, and the revenue fixed was Rs. 6,29,073, giving an incidence of annas 14-6 per acre. The settled assets were Rs. 11,51,400, the actual percentage of the assets taken as revenue amounting to 55 per cent. The enhancement made in the land revenue was as much as 67 per cent., which appears *prima facie* very large, but it must be remembered that whereas the zamindars received an income of Rs. 1,98,000 at the time of the previous settlement, they now receive an income of Rs. 5,22,300, and that while the revenue has been enhanced by 67 per cent., their income has increased by 163 per cent.

The chief results of the settlement of 1897, as compared with that of 1837, are summarised below :—

YEAR.	Cultivated area in acres.	Assessed area in acres.	Assets in Rs.	Revenue in Rs.	Percentage of revenue to assets.	Incidence of revenue per acre in annas.
1837	554,000	493,200	5,75,600	3,77,290	65	12-3
1897	776,000	692,200	11,51,400	6,29,073	55	14-6

REVENUE- PAYING LANDS.

Perma- nently- settled estates.

The preceding account will show that the revenue system of Balasore differs from that of Bengal proper, inasmuch as the settlement for the Government land revenue is not of a fixed and permanent character, but is made for a term of years only, subject to an increased assessment at the end of every fresh period. This system obtains in the greater portion of the district, but a certain number of estates are permanently settled. At the time of the last settlement there were 150 such estates, with an area of 190 square miles and a revenue demand of Rs. 34,835, lying in 8 *parganas* in the north of the district. They were originally contained in Midnapore and borne on the revenue roll of that district, but were transferred to Balasore on the revision of the boundary in 1868.

Tempo- rarily- settled estates.

The temporarily-settled estates numbered 1,417 and accounted for an area of 1,499 square miles. The majority are held by the descendants of the *talukdars*, rent-collectors, village headmen, holders of resumed *jagirs* and the like, who were found, at the

time of the British conquest, to be paying their revenue direct into the Marāthā treasuries, as well as of the holders of the larger revenue-free properties that were resumed and assessed to revenue during the early years of last century. Four of these estates, viz., Ambahatā, Patnā, Mangalpur and Ambo, are old *kilās*. They were held on military tenures subject to the payment of a tribute, and their circumstances differed little from those of the present Tributary States until the British accession, when the Bhuiyās of Mangalpur and Patnā, and the Mangrāj of Ambo placed themselves under the protection of Government with the object of obtaining some security against the oppressions of the Garjāt chiefs. From that time, although assessed with special leniency, these three *kilās* have been held on the same terms as the estates of ordinary zamindārs. *Kilā* Ambahatā was wrested from the Keonjhar Rājās in the time of the Mughals by the ancestors of one Bikram Singh Bidyādhār. It was resumed by the Marāthās and ceased to be a *kilā* in anything more than name. *Kilā* Patnā has passed from the hands of the former Bhuiyā family, being sold in 1897 under a civil court decree for debt, but the two remaining *kilās* of Mangalpur and Ambo are still in the possession of the old families.

Altogether 19 estates (Khās Mahāls) were owned by Government, the area being 34 square miles and the revenue payable nearly Rs. 40,000. They call for no detailed mention with the exception of *taluks* Noānand, Bīrso and Bichitrāpur. The Noānand estate, which has an area of 16,400 acres, was sold for arrears of revenue in 1818 and was purchased by Government for one rupee; it is now under the management of the Subdivisional Officer of Bhadrakh. Bīrso, with an area of 1,575 acres, formerly formed part of Noānand and was also purchased by Government for one rupee. The Bichitrāpur estate on the river Subarnarekhā, which has an area of 3,550 acres, consists of lands acquired for the purpose of salt manufacture in the early part of the 19th century under an *istimrārī* lease, i.e., the lands were ceded and the rent fixed in perpetuity. Government has accordingly paid an annual rent of Rs. 799 to the original proprietors since 1809.

Previous to the British conquest alienations of land for religious and charitable purposes were very common, the right of creating such tenures being freely exercised by the *pāṅgana* officials and by the village officials, such as *mukadāms* and *sarbarāhkārs*, in villages which had an hereditary village head. The area of such *lakṣirāj* lands, i.e., lands which were found at the settlement of 1837 to be held on valid titles and were

Government
estates.

REVENUE-
FREE
LANDS.

accordingly confirmed as revenue free, is 170 square miles or 19 per cent. of the temporarily-settled area. The *lākhirāj bābaldārs* or holders of such lands possess a permanent right to hold them free of land revenue and are independent of the zamindārs, except in so far as they are bound to pay cesses through them.

Debtar. The *lākhirāj* lands are found in nearly every village and consist mainly of *debtar* lands, which cover an area of 94 square miles or more than half the total. These lands were granted in support of Hindu shrines, the deity being legally regarded as the proprietor; and the *sebdāits* or trustees of the shrine were generally Brāhmins and Vaishnavas, but included also a small number of Karans, Khandāits and Mālis. The whole income of the lands was originally intended to be devoted to the support of the shrine and to charitable purposes, but owing to various causes, such as the absence of supervision, the decline of religious sentiment and the subdivision of rights among the *sebdāits*, the proceeds have in many cases been diverted, and only a small portion of them is now expended on the original purpose for which the land was granted. Some sort of *seba* or worship however is always carried on; cases in which no portion of the produce of the lands is devoted to the shrine are very rare and occur only when the lands have been transferred by sale or mortgage. If there are several sons who jointly inherit the property, each will take charge of the shrine during a portion of the year and maintain a priest, cook and attendant, offices which may also be combined in a single person. Wealthy *bahāldārs* occasionally supplement the income of the shrine with a fixed annual contribution. On the other hand, the *sebdāits* of *amruta manohi* grants, i.e., grants made for the purpose of keeping up the worship of Jagannāth at Puri, are accustomed to pay a merely formal sum to the Jagannāth *mahants*, and use the balance to maintain themselves in comfort and luxury.

Grām-debottar. Among these *debtar* lands may be mentioned the *grām-debottar*, i.e., portions of land which have been set apart from time immemorial in each village, in honour of the *thākurāni* or female tutelary deity of the place. The land so appropriated is usually small in extent, often only a fraction of a *bigha*. Instead of the daily offering, periodical festivals, and regular ceremonial necessary for an orthodox deity of the Hindu pantheon, offerings once or twice a year, and one or two feast days, are all that seem to be required in the case of the *thākurāni* or village deity. The former is enshrined in a temple while the *thākurāni* is generally located under a tree, and often in the open plain. She takes her name usually from the tree itself or the locality; but in many cases she has no name at all, and the patch of waste

ground forming the *asthan*, or abiding place of the *thakurdni*, is all that has been set apart, there being no one in charge and no compulsory offering.

Brahmottar lands, i.e., lands granted either to individual Brahmins or to a body of Brahmins forming a *sdsan* or Brahmin village and intended for their maintenance, cover an area of 53 square miles. These lands have been alienated to a large extent, and only 83 per cent. of the area is now in the possession of Brahmins. On the other hand, the grants known as *pirottar*, i.e., land set apart for the maintenance of the shrines of Muhammadan saints (*pirs*) have rarely been alienated owing to the jealous watch kept over them by the Muhammadan minority. Their present area is $7\frac{1}{2}$ square miles, which is only one-twelfth of the *debottar* area, the reason for this disproportion being that the Muhammadans are far less numerous than the Hindus, and even in the days of Mughal rule the Muhammadan population did not form the dominant class, except in detached villages, more especially in the south of the district.

Khairat lands given in charity (*khairat*) to Vaishnavas and other poor Hindus are more extensive, accounting for an area of $11\frac{1}{2}$ square miles. Of other such grants the most important are those known as *mahattran*, i.e., land granted revenue free to certain respectable classes of cultivators, such as Karans and Khandaits, who go by the name of *Khusbas* ryots.

There has been considerable subdivision of these revenue-free properties, and in the 60 years ending with the last settlement the number of proprietors was doubled. It is estimated at 67,000, and the average area of each share is only 1.62 acre and of each holding 2 acres. The number of tenants holding under the *bahaldars* is 64,400; they are mostly tenants with occupancy rights, and the area held by them is nearly 60,000 acres, the average holding being less than an acre in size.

In the Maratha records handed over to the British on the acquisition of the Province, each of the *parganas* was found to be divided into a number of *taluka* or divisions representing tracts which various officials, viz, *chaudhris*, *wildyati kanungos*, and the supervising *sadr kanungos*, had in course of time got recorded in their several and individual names, and for the revenue of which they came to be separately responsible; while the holders of *markuri taluka* were *mukaddams* of villages paying revenue into the treasury direct. All these holders of *taluka*, who were called *talukdars*, were allowed to pay their revenue direct into the Government treasury; and in subsequent Regulations and proceedings they were all denominated zamindars and proprietors.

of the land. Previously, they had been regarded merely as the holders of a hereditary office, with liberty to sell their rights in it only when they were in arrear with the revenue, and to dispose outright of small plots of unassessed waste land. Since 1804, the tendency of legislation and the action of the Civil Courts has been to assimilate this zamindari tenure to the English conception of a landed estate. The zamindars have been allowed to sell and convey any portion of it in any way they pleased; and the former notion, that they were only a medium between the cultivators and their sovereign for paying the rents into the treasury, has been to a great extent supplanted by the idea that they are the real proprietors and owners of the soil. This has not been effected, however, without great loss to the *mukaddams* or heads of villages, who had originally very much the same rights as the zamindars. In many instances they have disappeared altogether, having been ousted by the zamindars, or having failed to secure recognition of their rights in the law courts.

There are more than 5 recorded proprietors to each estate, the average size of which is 676 acres; the largest, *Taluk Mubarakpur*, contains an area of 38,293 acres, and the smallest is less than one acre. The average revenue fixed at the last settlement was Rs. 445; the greater number of the estates pay under Rs. 1,000 per annum, and half of these again pay less than Rs. 300.

Subdivi-
sion of
estates.

During the sixty years ending in 1897 the number of estates in Balasore increased from 803 to 1,414, a result almost entirely due to partition. Briefly, it may be said that partition caused an increase of 75 per cent. in the number of estates, but a clearer idea of the extent to which subdivision has taken place may be gained from the fact that the number of recorded proprietors increased during the same period from 1,509 to 7,481 or nearly five-fold. As early as 1831 this matter was exciting attention, and in that year Mr. Ricketts, Collector of Balasore, pointed out that there were 1,084 proprietors recorded for 680 estates and that the number of proprietors had almost doubled during the preceding twenty-five years. He added that the principle of inheritance according to Hindu law had not been acknowledged before the British conquest, and that the recognition of the privilege was injurious both to the zamindars and Government as tending to pauperize proprietors as a class.

Transfer
of
estates.

It is not, however, to the Hindu system of inheritance so much as to the transfer of portions of estates that the increase in proprietors is due. It is, in fact, no uncommon thing to find, especially in the south of the district, estates held by 30 or 40 proprietors, most of whom have come in during recent years as

purchasers of small interests. While at the commencement of the century there was but a single proprietor to each estate, in 1840 there were two and at the present date there are more than five. There can be no doubt that the extension of the settlement in 1868 did much to tend to this result by placing at the disposal of proprietors for another thirty years an enormous increment of assets, and thus affording an opportunity for a great and sudden rise in the standard of living. With the Oriyā zamindār such an opportunity was generally synonymous with a temptation to extravagance and improvidence, and the result has been that they have freely availed themselves of the power of transfer. Striking evidence of this was obtained during the last settlement, when it was ascertained that of the total number of estates 584 or 42 per cent. had passed wholly by inheritance during the previous sixty years; 284 or 20 per cent. had passed partially by inheritance, portions of them having been sold; 432 or 30 per cent. had been transferred by private sale, 38 or 2 per cent. by sale under Civil Court decree, and 76 or 5 per cent. by revenue sale for arrears. The fact that only 584 estates are now found entirely in the hands of the descendants of the last settlement-holders shows the enormous extent to which transfers have taken place. Though it is true that 284 estates still remain partially in possession of the old families, it may be said, putting these two figures together, that transfers have been effected to the extent of almost half the proprietary rights of the district. The subdivision of property has continued since the settlement, and in 1905-06 the number of estates borne on the revenue-roll had risen to 1,636.

As regards the persons to whom the estates have passed, it was found that Bengalis numbered 885 of the total, as against 174 in 1837, Oriyā Hindus, including naturalized Bengalis, 6,090 as against 1,181, and Muhammadans 505 as against 153. The proportion of Bengalis, therefore, remained stationary, while the Oriyā Hindus advanced at the expense of the Muhammadans. Subdivision of title is quite as common with the latter as with the remaining classes, and their decline is, to be ascribed to indebtedness. They are most numerous in the neighbourhood of Bhadrakh, and very many of them have parted with shares in their estates to Oriyā *mahājans*. Oriyā Hindus number no less than 81 per cent. of the total number of recorded sharers, while Bengalis represent 12 per cent. and Muhammadans 7 per cent.

The resident zamindārs number 7,210, and the non-resident only 271, the proportion of the latter decreasing from 5 to 4 per cent. during the currency of the settlement of 1837. Most of the non-resident zamindārs are either inhabitants of Cuttack town or

Nation-
ality of
zamindārs.

Non-resi-
dent
landlords.

district, but a few are residents of Midnapore and Calcutta. It was stated in 1853 that one-third of the proprietors resided on their estates, and the proportion is about the same at the present day.

Their
castes and
professions.

The most important castes represented are Khandais (28 per cent.), Brāhmans (27 per cent.) and Karans (18 per cent.). These castes include 73 per cent. of the total number of recorded proprietors; and of the remainder 7 per cent. are Musalmāns, 6 per cent. Telis, 15 per cent. Tāmbulis and 4 per cent. Kāyasths. Altogether 44 per cent. of the proprietors are without ostensible professions, and 15 per cent. are zamindār *mahājans* as compared with 9 per cent. in 1837. About one-third of these are persons who, in addition to being proprietors, have some money-lending business, and the balance are professional *mahājans*, with whom ownership of an estate is subordinate to their business as money-lenders. Both classes are purchasing estates, but the latter most freely. The proportion of cultivators has advanced from 10 to 24 per cent., owing to numerous purchases, generally of petty shares; pleaders and *mukhtārs* are also a largely increasing class. On the other hand, the old revenue official families are declining, the proportion having fallen from 5 to 2 per cent. Among the chief of these are the descendants of the *sadr kānungos* established by the Mughals at Bhadrakh, Soro and Jaleswar; the first are the Mahāsaya family of Kāupur, the second the Mahāsaya family of Kedārpur and the third the Mahāsaya family of Lakshannāth.

TENURE-
HOLDERS.

Under the zamindārs are a number of tenure-holders paying their revenue through the proprietors of the estates within which their lands lie. They are for the most part descendants of village headmen, such as *mukaddams* and *sarbarāshkārs*, or *kharidādārs*, i.e., the purchasers or recipients of proprietary rights in small plots of land alienated by the zamindārs or *mukaddams*.

Mukad-
dams.

The *mukaddams* were originally the village headmen, who held nearly the same position and exercised the same rights in their respective villages as the *pargana* officials. Their office of rent-collecting and revenue administration was hereditary, and they had also the privilege of selling outright small portions of unassessed waste land within the limits of the village. In some cases they paid the revenue direct into the treasury, and many of them thus attained the position of zamindārs and were recognized as such when the first British settlements of the district were effected. Of the remainder, from whom engagements were taken as tenure-holders, many were dispossessed during the early days of British administration, being compelled by the zamindārs to abrogate their hereditary rights and enter into farming leases for short terms of years. There are now 112 *mukaddami* tenures

with a total area of 51 square miles, the average area being 291 acres. They are contained in 16 estates, situated chiefly in *parganas* Bānchās Ogar and Dhāmānagar.

While the *mukaddams* were the successors of the village head-men or *pradhāns* of the Hindu rule, who had often actually founded and developed their villages and exercised over them a hereditary and proprietary right, the *sarbarāhkkārs* were originally mere collecting agents, either servants or farmers, installed by the *talukdārs*. After a long course of possession they gained an admitted right of collection, and after further lapse of time the right often became hereditary. The essence of the distinction was therefore that the *mukaddam's* right originated independently, whereas the *sarbarāhkkār* acquired a right carved out of that of the *talukdār*. Many of these, from being the zamindārs' subordinate rent-collectors, gradually acquired separate tenures, just as their masters, having been originally rent-collectors of a higher grade, acquired the substantial interest of zamindārs. Some *sarbarāhkkārs* were originally mere servants of the zamindārs, who collected their rents from the cultivators and enjoyed *jāgīrs*; others obtained possession of their villages as farmers only, but gradually obtained a prescriptive right to the tenure as it descended from one generation to another. There are now 731 *sarbarāhkkārī* tenures with an area of 96 square miles, the average area being 85 acres. They are comprised in 29 estates chiefly situated in *parganas* Bānchās Ogar, Senaut and Soso.

The third class of tenure-holders consists of *kharidādārs* or purchasers of waste lands. In the time of the Hindu, Mughal and Marāthā rulers, the revenue-collecting officials, viz., the *mukaddams* in their respective villages, and the *talukdārs* in the *parganas* or portions of *parganas* which they managed, had the right of selling pieces of unassessed waste land. Land thus sold was called *kharidā* or purchased, and was generally appropriated with the object of forming a garden or plantation, or was used for building purposes to create a new village. Though, in theory, these lands were waste, in reality cultivated lands were sometimes fraudulently disposed of in this manner. Among the *kharidādārs* may be included *purvethis*, who were originally the headmen of *patnas*, i.e., villages composed of land which had been purchased from the *talukdārs*, by virtue of the ancient privilege which the *pargana* officials enjoyed of selling waste unassessed land.

Transfers of tenures are common, and as an instance of this it may be mentioned that in one estate alone 289 out of 453 tenures are held by purchasers. Subdivision of interests has also

Sarbarāhkkārī.

Kharidādār.

Subdivision of tenures.

been carried on to a very great extent, and in one *tāluk* the number of shares increased from 64 to 453 in the 60 years ending with the last settlement, many of the *sarbarāhkārs* paying rents of a few annas only. During the same period the number of tenures in the whole district increased from 100 to 493 or by 400 per cent., and the number of recorded sharers from 154 to 829 or by 450 per cent. This was due partly to the partition of the estates in which the tenures existed, and partly to subdivision at inheritance, but generally to sale. In *pargana* Bānchās Ogar and the northern *parganas* actual subdivision of tenures has taken place to an inconsiderable extent, though the recorded sharers have greatly increased.

TENANTS. No less than 84 per cent. of the holdings in the district are in the possession of occupancy ryots, and 3 per cent. are held by non-occupancy ryots, the area held by each class being 83 and 2 per cent. respectively. The average area of each holding is very small, being only 1·57 acre in the case of the former and 1·17 acre in the case of the latter.

THĀNĪ ryots. The most numerous and important tenants are *thāni* and *pāhi* ryots. The term *thāni* is a corruption of *sthāni* or *sthāniya*, meaning local or resident, and was originally applied to the resident ryots of the village, who had cultivated its lands from time immemorial; its use is now restricted to the successors in interest of the resident ryots who were recorded as such in the first regular settlement of the district. The *thāni* ryots are in enjoyment of a hereditary right of occupancy, and their status is the creature of custom that has been in operation for many generations. These tenancies, as the holdings of resident tenants, naturally embraced all the best lands of the villages, and the customary rights of the resident tenants included many important privileges. They had the right to take up waste land at privileged rates; they had rights of pasturage and fuel; their occupancy was hereditary; the rent was fixed; and they could be disturbed only on failure to pay it. The *thāni* ryots were consequently the most substantial section of the village community and took the most prominent position in village affairs. They still retain a preferential right to the cultivation of *pāhi*, *bāziāfti* and *bahāl* lands; they obtain fuel at a cheaper rate; and they exercise, with regard to cutting trees and taking their fruit, rights which, though vague and ill-defined, are superior to those of the *pāhi* ryots. Considerable prestige still attaches to the status, and they are very unwilling to surrender their lands even when the rent is high, and the soil appears to have been damaged by sand beyond all hope of recovery.

Beyond the fixity of rent for 30 years, there is, however, now nothing to differentiate their status from that of *pāhi* ryots. Ryots of the latter class have now received the *pattās* which have been hitherto the distinguishing mark of the *thāni* ryots, and the occupancy right of both classes is now selling at almost level rates. Yet social distinctions are tenacious of existence in this country, and it may be long before the *thāni* ryots cease to have the loudest voice in village politics and before the zamindārs cease to accord them the privilege of being the first to pay the rent at each *kist* that precedes the *latbandī*.

The *thāni* holdings have been freely transferred by sale and mortgage, and their area has decreased very largely, falling during the currency of the last settlement from 110,100 to 45,900 acres; the average size of the holding is now 1·80 acre.

The *pāhi* ryots were originally the non-resident ryots of the *pāhi* villages, who, according to ancient custom, were mere tenants-at-will, until Act X of 1859 and the Bengal Tenancy Act conferred occupancy rights upon them. But this was unknown in many parts till the commencement of the last settlement, the word *pāhi* continued to be a term of reproach among the ryots indicative of an absence of rights, and it was only the settlement proceedings of 1897 which brought home to these tenants the nature of their rights. As a matter of fact, the *pāhi* tenant of 60 years ago has ceased to be non-resident. He has settled down on his cultivation, and, under the operation of the Bengal Tenancy Act, has become an occupancy tenant with all the rights and privileges which that Act has given. The name of the *pāhi* tenant has practically disappeared from the settlement records, as it is now held to include all the tenants included under the Bengal Tenancy Act as settled, the holdings of *thāni* ryots and all mixed holdings (*thāni-pāhi*) being excluded. The occupancy tenants hold an area of 435,200 acres, the number of their holdings being 234,700 and their average size 1·91 acre; there are only 10,000 non-occupancy holdings with a total area of 13,400 acres or 1·3 acre per holding.

The holdings of *kharidādār* tenants, i.e., *kharidādārs* who have not been recognized as proprietary tenure-holders, number 3,400, and the area under this tenancy is 15,100 acres, the average size of the holding being 4·4 acres.

The tenants known as *bāziāfidārs* include 2 classes, the *nisfi* *bāziāfidārs*, or holders of resumed rent-free lands assessed for the term of the settlement of 1837 at half rates, and the *kāmil bāziāfidārs*, or holders of resumed rent-free lands assessed at that settlement at full rates. The former have 45,800 holdings

with an area of 77,200 acres or 1.7 acre per holding, a result due to the excessive subdivision which has gone on. The latter have 16,100 holdings with an area of 26,500 acres or 1.6 acre per holding. At the present day the *bāziāfidārs* represent the bulk of Oriya middle class society, and especially the Brāhmins. The latter number 120,000 or about 20,000 families, and when it is remembered that there are over 50,000 *lahāl* properties and over 60,000 *bāziāfi* holdings in the district, the majority of both held by Brāhmins, it is seen how close is their connection with lands of this description.

Bāziāfidārs, as a class, are in poor circumstances, as they have a number of dependents and their lands have been excessively subdivided; but there are many *sāsan* villages where the whole body of *bāziāfidārs* is well-to-do. *Bāziāfidārs*, in common with Brāhmins generally, often act as guides to the peasantry in the intricacies of the law, as well as in other matters. The zamīndār's *amlā*, the petition writer, the law-tout, the *mukhtār* and pleader are generally recruited from this class. They have thus a certain *savoir faire*, which, added to their caste and social status, ensures them a position of some importance among the peasantry.

Chāndinā
tenants.

The *chāndinā* ryots are tenants occupying homestead land, who generally possess no cultivated land in the village. There are now 12,400 holdings of this class covering 3,300 acres or nearly one-third of an acre each.

Jāgir
lands.

The last important class of tenants consists of holders of service and other *jāgirs*, who hold their lands rent-free, either in consideration of services to be rendered, or as rewards for services in the past. Among these are 7,200 acres held by *chāukidārs* or village police, and 1,400 acres held by village accountants or *patuāris*. There are 4,600 acres held by *pāiks* and Khandaits, who are interesting survivals of the old rural militia of Orissa. They are most frequent in the tracts along the borders of the Tributary States and in the north of the district, where they were granted service lands for the protection of the country, partly from inroads by the Garhjat chiefs and partly from the ravages of wild animals. *Chakrān jāgirs*, which account for 2,600 acres, are lands held by the village washermen, barbers, blacksmiths and carpenters, and in some cases by the village drummers and boatmen. Such grants were made for the benefit of the village community, and as an inducement to intending settlers. In a small or newly-established village, where the number of inhabitants was too small to offer a hope of sufficient remuneration to the barber or blacksmith, these were induced by grants of small areas of land rent-free to take up their residence and thus

complete the formation of the village community. It was never intended, however, that these *jāgirdārs* should supply the needs of the villagers without payment and merely as a return for the grant of land, nor has it ever been the case that they have done so; accordingly, they receive periodical payments from the cultivators, in cash or in kind, in addition to their *jāgirs*.

The under-tenants are divided into four classes: (1) ryots of tenure-holders with rights of occupancy; (2) ryots of tenure-holders with non-occupancy rights; (3) under-ryots with rights of occupancy; and (4) under-ryots liable to eviction for failure to pay rent or at the end of the year after service of due notice. From the figures obtained at the last settlement it appears that within the revenue-paying estates there are 100,000 under-tenants holding 65,000 acres. The proportion of the area held by under-ryots to the total area of ryoti holdings (excluding *bāziāfti*) is about 3 per cent., and it is estimated that tenure-holders sublet 62 per cent. of their lands to under ryots. Nearly all the under-ryots, however, have other lands of their own held as *pāhi* or *thāni* either in the same or a neighbouring village. Respectable ryots take up and cultivate lands held by Brahmans or small patches required for sugarcane and tobacco, which the ryot himself cannot or will not grow; and other under-ryots are low caste tenants paying produce rents, with a position differing but little from that of hired servants. Similarly, the ryots holding under tenure-holders may be divided into respectable ryots cultivating for their own convenience and low caste men paying produce rents, though the former largely predominate.

Balasore is a district of small estates, and the proverbial harshness of petty landlords is intensified by the perplexing way in which their lands are split up. An estate generally consists of a village in one *pargana*, perhaps two in another, and four or five in as many more, all distant from each other. But worse than these ordinary estates are the 'separate collection lands' (*tahsil aldhida*). Such an estate, although forming a fiscal entity, and bearing but one number in the district rent-roll, often consists of 60 or 70 small parcels of land, scattered over the whole district, with two or three acres in one village, and one or two acres in another 30 miles off. In addition to these elements of confusion, there are more than 54,000 revenue-free properties, which average only 2 acres a piece. Such grants, even though they may not exceed 10 acres in extent, will often be found in 10 different plots in as many different villages. The proprietors have also a passion for having their land parcelled out by the process of law known as *batardā*;

UNDER-
TENANTS.RELATIONS OF
LAND-
LORDS AND
TENANTS.

as already mentioned there are more than 5 proprietors to each estate, and it is not uncommon to find some estates held by 30 or 40 proprietors.

The result of these conditions is that the relations between landlords and tenants are not very satisfactory. The landholder is necessarily at a distance from the greater part of his scattered land, and takes but little interest in the husbandmen. Instead of having a compact tenantry living together, who could be dealt with in a corporate spirit, he has tenants scattered over 40 or 50 distant villages, with whom his only connection is the periodical demand for rent. Each proprietor is eager to get every scrap of his land under tillage; nor can he afford, like the territorial magnates of Bengal, to leave large tracts for pasturage,—a parsimony that makes itself visible in the miserable condition of the cattle. His poverty further compels him to rack-rent tenants not protected by a right of occupancy. A hungry landlord cannot afford to be generous. The husbandmen on their side have to be content with small holdings. In order to get a large holding, they would have to take land under two or three proprietors, and would thus be exposed to the accumulated tyranny of many masters; while if they wished to have a large holding under one landlord, they would have to take fields in widely distant villages, and would thus lose time in going to and fro. [Large farms are, therefore, unknown, and the average area held by each tenant is less than $5\frac{1}{2}$ acres. This small area is comprised within $3\frac{1}{2}$ different holdings; and at the last settlement it was found that in a number of representative villages no less than 73 per cent. of the holdings were under 2 acres in size, only 7 per cent. being over 5 acres and 3 per cent. over 10 acres in area.]

CHAPTER XII.

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

THE administration of the district is in charge of the Collector under the Commissioner of the Orissa Division, and for general administrative purposes it is divided into two subdivisions with headquarters at Balasore and Bhadrakh. The headquarters subdivision is under the direct supervision of the Collector, who is assisted by a staff of three Deputy Collectors with occasionally a Sub-Deputy Collector; while the Bhadrakh subdivision is in charge of a Subdivisional Officer, sometimes a member of the Indian Civil Service, who exercises the powers of a Deputy Collector in revenue matters, and is assisted by a Sub-Deputy Collector. He does not, however, exercise original jurisdiction in any revenue matters except rent suits, all other revenue matters being dealt with by the staff at Balasore. The latter place is also the headquarters of the Executive Engineer in charge of the Balasore Public Works Division, and Chândbali is the headquarters of the Port Officer of the Cuttack and Balasore ports.

ADMINISTRATIVE CHARGES AND STAFF.

The revenue of the district, under the main heads, increased from Rs. 6,69,000 in 1880-81, when the income-tax had not been imposed, to Rs. 7,53,000 in 1890-91 and to Rs. 10,98,000 in 1900-01. In 1905-06 it amounted to Rs. 11,95,000, of which Rs. 6,62,000 were derived from land revenue, Rs. 2,89,000 from excise, Rs. 1,45,000 from stamps, Rs. 81,000 from cesses and Rs. 18,000 from income-tax.

REVENUE.

The collections of land revenue increased from Rs. 4,11,000 in 1880-81 to Rs. 4,21,000 in 1890-91 and to Rs. 6,25,000 in 1900-01. In 1905-06 they amounted to Rs. 6,62,000, collected from 1,636 estates. Of these, 1,470 estates with a demand of Rs. 5,83,500 are temporarily settled, and 152 estates with a demand of Rs. 41,750 are permanently settled, while there are 14 estates with a demand of Rs. 36,000 held direct by Government.

Land revenue.

The next most important source of revenue is excise, the receipts from which increased from Rs. 2,21,000 in 1895-96 to

Excise.

Rs. 2,89,000 in 1905-06. By far the greater part of this sum was obtained from the sale of opium, which realized 2½ lakhs or 86 per cent. of the total excise revenue. The people have always been greatly addicted to the use of the drug, and an early account says that "the quantity of opium consumed by some is incredibly large; many a poor wretch beggars his family to gratify this pernicious vice. They will go to any extremes to obtain it, either in the way of petty theft or daring burglary." At the present day, the consumption of opium is greater than in any other Bengal district; the lower classes especially regard it as a preventive of chills and fever, and men, women and children alike look on it as an item of their daily food. There is one shop for the sale of the drug and its preparations to every 14,877 persons, and the amount realized from duty and license fees is Rs. 2,342 for every 10,000 of the population, as compared with the average of Rs. 442 for the whole Province. After opium, the largest receipts are obtained from the duty and license fees levied on *ganja*, i. e., the unimpregnated dried flowering tops of the cultivated female hemp plant (*Cannabis indica*), the amount thus realized being Rs. 22,500 in 1905-06. The total incidence of the revenue accruing from hemp drugs is only Rs. 210 for every 10,000, and the number of shops licensed to sell by retail is one to every 36,939 persons.

The manufacture and sale of country spirit are carried on under what is known as the contract distillery system, which was introduced in 1905. Under this system the local manufacture of country spirit has been absolutely prohibited, and a contract has been made with the Aska Distillery in Ganjam for the supply of country spirit. The contractors are forbidden to hold any retail licenses for the sale of the spirit, but are allowed the free use of distillery and depôt buildings for the storage of liquors. The spirit is brought from the Aska Distillery to the various depôts, and is there blended and reduced to certain fixed strengths, at which alone it may be supplied to retail vendors and sold by the latter to consumers. In Balasore the liquor is sold at 10° U. P., as the opium vice is notoriously prevalent and weaker liquor has very little chance of success. The receipts from license fees and duty on this spirit are far less than in any other Bengal district, amounting in 1905-06 to only Rs. 12,000, while the sale of the country fermented liquor known as *târi* brought in only Rs. 2,000. The fact is that the Oriyâ is far from being a hard drinker, and the demand for liquor is so slight that it is found sufficient to have one retail shop for every 71,413 persons; the annual consumption of country spirit is not more

than 3 proof gallons per 1,000, and the receipts from spirits and fermented liquor amount only to Rs. 145 per 10,000 of the population as compared with Rs. 2,000 for the whole of Bengal.

The revenue derived from the sale of stamps was Rs. 79,500 Stamp. in 1895-96, and averaged Rs. 94,000 per annum in the quinquennium ending in 1899-1900. During the five years ending in 1904-05 the annual receipts averaged Rs. 1,22,000, and in 1905-06 they were Rs. 1,45,000. The revenue from this source has thus nearly doubled itself in the last ten years. The increase is due mainly to the growth in the number of rent and civil suits, which is reflected in the sale of court-fee stamps realizing Rs. 1,06,500 in 1905-06, as compared with Rs. 58,000 in 1895-96. There has been a similar increase in the receipts from non-judicial stamps, which rose during the same period from Rs. 17,700 to Rs. 30,500 in consequence of the increase in the number of deeds of sale and mortgage.

Road and public works cesses are, as usual, levied at the Cesses. maximum rate of one anna in the rupee. The current demand is Rs. 80,000, of which the greater part (Rs. 67,000) is due from 2,291 revenue-paying estates, while Rs. 13,000 are payable by 16,552 revenue-free estates. The number of recorded shareholders of estates is 35,700. There are 34,983 tenures assessed to cesses with 52,441 share-holders; and the number of tenures is thus nearly double that of estates. The total demand of cesses is equal to nearly one-eighth of the demand of land revenue (Rs. 6,61,000).

In 1895-96 the income-tax yielded Rs. 15,000 paid by 872 Income-assessees, and in 1901-02 the amount derived from the tax had tax. increased to Rs. 16,700 and the number of assessees to 928. At that time the minimum income assessable was Rs. 500, but this was raised to Rs. 1,000 in 1903, thereby affording relief to a large number of petty traders, money-lenders and clerks. The number of assessees has consequently fallen off, and in 1905-06 the tax brought in Rs. 17,600 paid by 392 assessees. In spite, therefore, of the decrease in the number of assessees, due to the exemption from taxation of persons having incomes below Rs. 1,000, the collections have increased, owing to the growth of the income of merchants and dealers in food grains which has followed the opening of the railway.

There are 4 offices for the registration of assurances under Act III of 1877, one at the headquarters station and the others Registration. at Bhadrakh, Dhāmnagar and Jaleswar. At Balasore the Special Sub-Registrar deals, as usual, with the documents presented there and assists the District Magistrate, who is *ex-officio* District

Registrar, in supervising the proceedings of the Rural Sub-Registrars in charge of the other registration offices. [In the five years 1895-99 the average number of documents registered annually was 9,631; in the next quinquennium (1900-04) it was 16,981; and in 1905 the number rose to 17,484, as shown in the

Name.	Documents registered.	Receipts.	Expenditure.
		Rs.	Rs.
Balasore ...	6,978	6,259	4,765
Bhadrakh ...	4,711	4,001	2,085
Dhāmānagar ...	2,035	1,703	1,390
Jaleswar ...	3,762	2,672	1,598
Total ...	17,484	14,535	9,838

marginal statement, which gives the salient statistics for that year. This remarkable increase is chiefly attributable to the recent settlement, which has put into the hands of every

ryot a record clearly defining the position and legal status of his holding. With the facilities for transfer which such a record has placed in his possession, the ryot naturally has resorted more largely to transfer, though the settlement did not confer any new right of transfer. The validity of such transfers still depends upon the consent of the zamindār, but this is usually given on payment of a bonus of 25 per cent. of the consideration. This restricted right of transfer is fast hardening into a custom, but this is not a matter for anxiety, as the purchasers usually belong to the same class as the sellers.

With the increase in the number of documents registered, there has been a corresponding increase in the receipts and a considerable surplus over the expenditure. The average annual receipts during the quinquennium 1895-99 were Rs. 9,300 and the expenditure was Rs. 6,600; in the 5 years ending in 1904 the average was Rs. 14,250 and Rs. 9,100 respectively; and as shown above, the receipts were Rs. 14,535 and the expenditure Rs. 9,838 in 1905.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

Civil Justice.

The judicial staff entertained for the administration of civil justice consists of a Munsif stationed at Balasore and another Munsif at Bhadrakh, who are subordinate to the District and Sessions Judge; the latter is Judge of Outtack and Puri and has jurisdiction in this district also. In recent years, there has been a considerable increase in the number of civil suits instituted, owing to the recent settlement, the opening of the railway, the general growth of trade, and the consequent development of business relations; and a Munsifi was accordingly established at Bhadrakh in 1900. The increase in the number of rent suits, in

particular, has been very remarkable, amounting to over 100 per cent. in the 5 years ending in 1904. This is attributed chiefly to the fact that the land revenue demand was enhanced at the recent settlement and the zamindars cannot now afford to allow large arrears to remain outstanding, as they were accustomed to do when they enjoyed larger profits. Also the settlement records have given increased facilities to the zamindars to prove the area and the annual rental of their tenants' holdings, which were formerly subjects of dispute that many zamindars shrunk from bringing before the Courts, as they had no thoroughly reliable records of their own. The issue is now practically confined to the amount of the arrears, and the result is that the majority of suits are uncontested.

There is also another reason why the landlords have resorted more largely to civil suits since the settlement. Formerly the poorer *pahi* or non-resident ryot was a mere tenant-at-will, who was summarily evicted if he fell into arrears with his rent, and any man willing to pay the balance of rent was installed in his place. Armed with the record of rights, the poorest tenant can now successfully resist this form of tyranny, and the results of many criminal cases have taught the landlord that a suit in the Revenue Court is a much safer means of realizing an arrear of rent than forcible dispossession of the defaulter or illegal distraint of his crop. The increase of rent suits is, at least to this extent, a healthy sign of the development of tenant right, and the fact that this increase has been accompanied by a diminution in the proportion of contested cases shows that there is yet no tendency on the part of the tenant to throw designed obstacles in the way of the landlord.

Criminal justice is administered by the District Judge, who is also Sessions Judge, the District Magistrate, and the various Deputy and Sub-Deputy Magistrates at the headquarters and subdivisional stations. The sanctioned staff at Balasore consists, in addition to the District Magistrate, of 2 Deputy Magistrates of the first class and one Deputy Magistrate of the second or third class. Besides these officers, a Sub-Deputy Magistrate with third class powers is sometimes posted to the head-quarters station. The Subdivisional Officer of Bhadrakh is almost invariably a Magistrate of the first class, and is generally assisted by a Sub-Deputy Magistrate vested with second or third class powers. In addition to the stipendiary Magistrates, there are benches of Honorary Magistrates at Balasore, Bhadrakh and Chāndbali, exercising second class powers and composed of 11, 9 and 6 members respectively. One or more of the Honorary Magistrates

Criminal
Justice.

at Balasore may sit with any salaried or Honorary Magistrate appointed by the District Magistrate, and thus form a bench for the trial of offences committed in the headquarters subdivision. The Port Officer has also the power of a shipping master under Act I of 1852 and has been vested with the powers of a Magistrate of the second class. The District Magistrate is *ex-officio* Assistant to the Superintendent of the Orissa Tributary Mahals and has the powers of a Sessions Judge in Nilgiri, Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar.

Crime.

The Oriyās are generally a law-abiding people. Organized crime by professional criminals is almost unknown and has hitherto been confined to occasional drugging and robbing of pilgrims on the Jagannāth road and to an occasional dacoity. The country has now been opened up by the railway, and it is feared that the peace which it has hitherto enjoyed may be disturbed by foreign criminals. Recently also the settlement had a disturbing influence upon the relations of landlords and tenants and upon the economic condition of the country generally; while high prices and the influx of foreigners, as well as the introduction of railway communication, are causes which must have had some effect upon criminal statistics. The Province has now recovered from its temporary *bouleversement*, and is settling down into normal conditions. But it is not to be expected that Orissa will ever again be so immune from crime as it was in its days of peaceful isolation.

POLICE.

For police purposes the district is divided into 9 thānas or police circles, viz., Balasore, Bālāpāl, Bastā, Jaleswar and Soro in the headquarters subdivision; and Bhadrakh, Bāsudebpur, Chāndbālī and Dhāmānagar in the Bhadrakh subdivision. There are also 11 independent outposts, viz., in the headquarters subdivision, Remunā under the Bālasore thāna, Bhogrāi and Panchpalli under Bālāpāl, Rājghāt and Singlā, under Bastā, Nāmpo under Jaleswar, and Anantapur, Khairā and Similiā under Soro; and in the Bhadrakh subdivision Bant under Bhadrakh and Akshuāpadā under Dhāmānagar. There are thus 20 centres for the investigation of crime. The regular police force consisted in 1905 of the District Superintendent of Police, 4 Inspectors, 30 Sub-Inspectors, 29 Head Constables and 330 constables, and there was one policeman to every 5·2 square miles and to every 2,718 of the population. In Balasore town there is a small body of town police consisting of 2 Head Constables, 4 constables, 4 *dafadārs* and 26 town *chaukidārs*. The railway police force includes 2 Head Constables and 5 constables. The rural police force is composed of 1,549 *chaukidārs* and 140 *dafadārs*, and there is one *chaukidār* to every 691 inhabitants. For the administration of the village police system, the district is divided into 140 unions (79 in

the headquarters and 61 in the Bhadrakh subdivision) with an average of 11 *chaukidars* each; the incidence of *chaukidari* tax is anna 1-4 per head, and the *chaukidars* receive a salary of Rs. 4 a month.

There is a second class district jail at Balasore and a subsidiary jail at Bhadrakh, which has accommodation for 14 prisoners; it is merely a lock-up, all but short-term prisoners being sent to the district jail at Balasore. The latter has accommodation for 155 prisoners, viz., for 105 male convicts, 9 female convicts and 17 under-trial prisoners, while there are cells for 4 prisoners and a hospital for 20 patients. The industries carried on in the jail are oil-pressing, weaving of coarse cloth, carpet making, cane and bamboo work and the manufacture of coir fibre; coco-nut husks being easily obtainable, coir pounding is the chief industry.

CHAPTER XIII.

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT.

THE
DISTRICT
BOARD.

OUTSIDE the municipality of Balasore the administration of local affairs rests with the District Board assisted by the Local Boards constituted for each subdivision and by the Union Committees mentioned below. The District Board consists of 16 members, of whom five are nominated by Government and eight are elected, while three are *ex-officio* members. Its average annual income during the 10 years ending in 1901-02 was Rs. 78,000, of which Rs. 33,000 were derived from Provincial rates, and the average annual expenditure was Rs. 81,000, of which Rs. 38,000 were spent on civil works, Rs. 27,000 on education and Rs. 4,000 on medical relief. In 1905-06 its income was Rs. 1,03,000 (excluding an opening balance of Rs. 21,000), the principal receipts being Rs. 39,000 derived from rates, Rs. 28,000 contributed by Government and Rs. 20,700 obtained from civil works. Here, as elsewhere, the Provincial rates form the chief source of income, but the total incidence of taxation is light, being only 1 anna 10 pies per head of the population. The expenditure in the same year was Rs. 90,000, of which Rs. 38,500 were spent on civil works, Rs. 34,650 on education and Rs. 6,200 on medical relief.

The District Board maintains 307 miles of road, of which 40 miles are metalled and 267 miles are unmetalled, besides a number of village roads with a length of 187 miles; the expenditure on maintaining these roads in 1905-06 was Rs. 122, Rs. 18 and Rs. 16 per mile respectively. It also keeps up 77 pounds, under the control of a Pound and Ferry Inspector, which bring in an income of Rs. 5,000. Its educational expenditure is devoted to maintaining 2 Middle schools and to aiding 18 schools of the same class, 65 Upper Primary schools, 866 Lower Primary schools, and 9 other schools, including 5 schools for the education of children of aboriginal descent. It also maintains 4 dispensaries and aids 2 others, and recently an itinerant Civil Hospital Assistant has been appointed, as an experimental measure, to visit the markets in the Government estates in the Bhadrakh subdivision and afford

medical relief to the poorer classes attending them. Altogether 6·4 per cent. of the ordinary income of the Board is expended on medical relief and sanitation. It also maintains a veterinary dispensary at Balasore, and, when necessary, deputes itinerant Veterinary Assistants to deal with outbreaks of epidemic disease among cattle in the interior.

It is reported that the District Board is a most useful institution which works very satisfactorily. It is said that it represents the best and most educated classes of the district and that influential gentlemen of high standing are anxious to belong to it.

Local Boards have been constituted for the headquarters and Bhadrakh subdivisions. The system of election which obtains in some parts of Bengal has not been introduced, and the members are nominated by Government. The Balasore Local Board consists of 12 members, of whom ten are nominated and two are *ex-officio* members, and the Bhadrakh Local Board has 11 members, all of whom are nominated. The functions of these bodies are unimportant, consisting mainly of the administration of village roads; the Balasore Local Board, in particular, is said to have very little to do, and is chiefly useful as a reserve from which to fill up vacancies in the District Board.

LOCAL
BOARDS.

There are 5 Union Committees, viz., Berhampur, Bhadrakh, Jaleswar, Remunā and Soro, all established in 1896. They each have an area of 10 square miles and a population varying from 10,273 to 10,843. They are practically extinct and exist only in name; in the last annual report it is said—"No work was done by any of the Committees during the year. They were given some work in previous years, but the Committees were found to be utterly indifferent and nothing was done."

UNION
COM-
MITTEES.

The Balasore Municipality is the only municipality in the district. It was established in 1877, and its affairs are administered by a Municipal Board consisting of 18 members, of whom five are nominated and twelve are elected, while one is an *ex-officio* member. The area within municipal limits is 5 square miles, and the number of rate-payers is 3,350 or 15·9 per cent. of the population. The average annual income for the decade ending in 1901-02 was Rs. 18,000. In 1905-06 the income was Rs. 21,800, the main source of income being a tax on persons (or property tax), levied according to the circumstances and property of the assesses, which brought in Rs. 10,000. There was also a conservancy rate, levied according to the valuation of holdings at 6 pies per rupee, which realized Rs. 2,000; the same amount was obtained from a tax on animals and vehicles, while a tax on houses and lands brought in Rs. 1,300. The total income from municipal rates

MUNICI-
PALITIES.

and taxes was Rs. 15,850, and the incidence of taxation was only 12 annas per head of the population. The expenditure in the same year was Rs. 19,500, of which Rs. 5,500 or 28 per cent. were spent on conservancy, and Rs. 5,000 or 26·6 per cent. on public works. Besides this, Rs. 4,500 or 23·3 per cent. were expended on medical relief, a higher percentage than in any other municipality in Orissa except Puri.

CHAPTER XIV.

EDUCATION.

NOTHING perhaps illustrates the progress of Orissa under British rule more clearly than the history of the spread of education among its people. The contrast between the low estimation in which early observers held their intellectual capacities and the standard which they have now reached is very striking. Orissa was described as the Bœotia of India, and its people as equally ignorant and stupid; it was cited as a proof of the poverty of their qualifications that the principal official posts had to be filled by foreigners; and the reason assigned for this was that it was impossible to find Oriyās of sufficient ability for positions of responsibility and trust. When we first acquired the Province in 1803, there was scarcely a single native of Orissa in Government employ. The language of the courts and public offices was Persian, and it was not till 1805 that orders were passed that in all written communications with the natives of the Province the subject should be written in Oriyā as well as in Persian. This order necessitated the employment of Oriyā *muharrirs*, who, though skilful enough with their iron pen and bundle of palm-leaves, were almost helpless when required to write on paper with an ordinary pen. They are said to have been slow in acquiring any facility in this method of writing, ignorant of business in general, and especially of the new English method of revenue accounts. All the best ministerial appointments were consequently in the hands of Bengali clerks, who, attracted by the high pay that had to be offered to procure the requisite standard of efficiency, left their homes in Bengal, and bringing their families with them, settled in the Province and became naturalized Oriyās.

The backwardness of education in Orissa during the first half century of British rule has been graphically described by Sir William Hunter. "Government," he writes, "not less than the missionaries, long found itself baffled by the obstinate orthodoxy of Orissa. Until 1838 no schools worthy of the name existed

EARLY
HISTORY
OF EDU-
CATION.

I am indebted to Bāha Divya Sinha Misra, B. A., Deputy Inspector of Schools, Palsore, for assistance in preparing this chapter.

except in the two or three little bright spots within the circle of missionary influence. Throughout the length and breadth of the Province, with its population of $2\frac{1}{2}$ million of souls, all was darkness and superstition. Here and there, indeed, a *pandit* taught a few lads Sanskrit in a corner of some rich landholder's mansion; and the larger villages had a sort of hedge-school, where half a dozen boys squatted with the master on the ground, forming the alphabet in the dust, and repeating the multiplication table in a parrot-like sing-song. Any one who could write a sentence or two on a palm leaf passed for a man of letters. In 1838 Government entered the field, and opened an English and a Sanskrit school at Puri. But these institutions proved altogether unable to make head against the tide of ignorance and bigotry, and presently sunk beneath the flood. In 1841 we opened a higher class English school at Cuttack, which after a long series of conflicts and discouragements still survives as the principal seat of education in the Province. During Lord Hardinge's administration two vernacular schools were set agoing in 1845; another one in 1848; and in 1853 an English school was founded in Balasore, while the one at Puri was resuscitated. In 1854 arrived the famous Educational Despatch which was to bring western enlightenment home to the eastern races. Yet for several years afterwards, the increase of schools throughout vast Provinces like Orissa has still to be counted by units. In three great Government estates (Khurdā, Bānki and Angul) we managed between 1855 and 1859 to set on foot 19 elementary schools; but in the latter year the total number for all Orissa, with close on 3 millions of people, amounted to only 29. The truth is, the whole population was against us. Such little success as our schools obtained they owed, not to the Oriyās themselves, but to the Bengali families whom our Courts and public offices brought into the Province. Thus, of the 58 Orissa students who up to 1868 reached even the moderate standard exacted by the Calcutta University at its Entrance Examinations, only 10 were native Oriyās, while 48 belonged to immigrant families."

The Brāhmans had hitherto held the monopoly of education and kept it strictly in their own hands; and caste prejudice and religious superstition were the great obstacles in the way of progress. The Government schools were looked upon as infidel inventions; and even as late as 1860, a learned Oriyā, on being appointed to the orthodox post of Sanskrit teacher in the Puri school, was excluded for a year or two from the Brahmanical orders, and stormy discussions took place as to whether he should not be formally expelled from his caste. In spite, however, of such

opposition, State education slowly, but surely, made its way in Orissa. In 1848-49 there were but 9 schools, with a total attendance of 279 pupils, out of a population of 3 million souls; but during the next ten years the number of schools increased to 29, and of pupils to 1,046; while at the close of the third decennial period, *i.e.*, in 1868-69, they numbered 63 schools with 4,043 pupils.

Until 1869, however, no machinery existed in Orissa for training teachers, and the lack of qualified instructors was one of the greatest difficulties experienced in establishing and maintaining schools. In that year, Government opened a Normal school in Cuttack town, at which young men were instructed with the object of qualifying them to become teachers in their turn. On the conclusion of the course of training, these young men dispersed through the Province, and, settling in the villages, did much to bring education home to the ignorant peasantry. Each teacher collected as much as he could in money and rice from the villagers who sent their children to his school, and received a small weekly stipend from Government so long as he discharged his duty properly. A considerable number of schools of this sort were gradually opened, and no measure was more successful in breaking down the baneful influences of caste and in popularizing education.

In Balasore the number of schools recognized by Government rose from 2 in 1856-57 to 28 in 1870-71, and the number of pupils from 99 to 1,252. Between 1871 and 1885 a still more remarkable development took place. Sir George Campbell's scheme of educational reform, which extended the grant-in-aid rules to hitherto unaided schools, came into operation in 1872, and many indigenous institutions being thus brought under the departmental system, the number of inspected schools further increased by 1875 to 217 with an attendance of 5,972 pupils. The advance of education during the next decade was rapid and sustained, and in 1885 some 37,707 pupils were under instruction in 2,305 public institutions. The number of schools was thus 82 times, and that of scholars 30 times as great as in 1871. This extraordinary rate of progress has not been kept up; in the ten years ending in 1895 the work was hindered by failure of the crops in several years, and the number of schools fell to 2,156 and the attendance to 35,827; and the last ten years have witnessed a similar falling off in the number of schools. These numbered 1,753 on the 31st March 1906, but on the other hand there was a considerable increase in the number of pupils, which rose to 37,687; and besides these, there are 72 schools, with 644 pupils.

PROGRESS
OF EDUCA-
TION.

which do not conform to any departmental standard and are outside the Education Department system. Thus during the past decade, the public institutions in the district have decreased by 403, but they have received an accession of 1,860 pupils; and the period has thus been one of consolidation rather than expansion.

Even so, however, the number of children is practically the same as in 1885; and the number of scholars studying in Primary schools has actually decreased during these 20 years—a result which is attributed to several causes. At first the Education Department had to deal with a portion of the population living in the more populous and accessible parts of the district, which was moreover well-to-do and alive to the value of education; and in these circumstances progress was comparatively easy. There is now a much more difficult problem to be faced, as the benefits of education have to be conveyed to the poorer peasants and low castes, who have for generations been content to live in ignorance and are indifferent to scholastic instruction, while the efforts of the educated classes are more readily directed to English than vernacular education.

GENERAL
STATIS-
TICS.

At the census of 1901 it was found that 7·8 per cent. of the population (15·7 males and 0·4 females) could read and write; and the educational returns for 1905-06 show that there are 35·7 children at school to every thousand of the population, that there is one school to every 1·1 square mile and to every 2·34 villages, and that the proportion of boys under instruction to boys of school-going age is 40·1 per cent.

The inspecting staff of the district consists of a Deputy Inspector of Schools, 6 Sub-Inspectors and 21 Inspecting Pandits, all of whom are subordinate to the Inspector of Schools, Orissa Division.

SECON-
DARY
EDUCA-
TION.

High
English
Schools.

There are no colleges in the district. The number of High English schools, *i.e.*, schools teaching up to the Entrance Examination of the Calcutta University, rose from one in 1870-71 to 3 in 1883-84, and finally to 4 in 1905-06; during the same three periods the number of scholars attending them increased from 129 to 344 and 531 respectively. Of these four schools, two, *viz.*, the Balasore Zila School and the Baptist Mission High School, are in the town of Balasore; the third is at the headquarters station of the outlying subdivision of Bhadrakh, while the fourth is at Lakshannath, a village in the north of the district. A considerable proportion of the boys reading in these schools are the sons of Bengali immigrants, Government servants and professional men earning their livelihood in the district. The Zila

school is maintained by Government, while the rest are aided by it under the grant-in-aid rules. The annual cost of educating each pupil is Rs. 32-6, the cost to public funds being Rs. 6-5. The total number of candidates sent up to the Entrance examination of 1906 was 20, of whom 6 only were successful. The principal change recently introduced in the curriculum of these schools is that in the lower classes, which were formerly conducted on what is called the English basis, the vernacular, Oriyā or Bengali, has now been made the medium of instruction, and that candidates for the Middle English Scholarship examination are now being selected from the 5th class.

The number of Middle English schools teaching up to the Middle English Scholarship examination, in which English forms part of the recognized course of studies, increased from 2 in 1872-73 to 4 in 1884-85 and to 11 in 1905-06. Of these 11 schools, three in the town of Balasore are aided by the Education Department, 7 are aided by the District Board, while one is an unaided institution.

The third class of secondary schools consists of the Middle Vernacular schools, which teach up to the Middle Scholarship, in which the vernacular is the only recognized course of study. The number of schools of this class rose from 10 in 1872-73 to 14 in 1883-84, and finally to 15 in 1905-06; of these 15 schools, 2 at Bastā and Gujādarādā are managed by the District Board, 11 are aided by it, and 2 are unaided. These schools are no longer popular, as the people generally attach but small value to a purely vernacular education.

In 1872-73 there were only 3,474 children receiving instruction in 172 Primary schools, but the next decade was one of phenomenal growth, the number of schools increasing to 2,111 in 1883-84, and the number of pupils to 32,915. On the 31st March 1906 there were 1,571 primary institutions in the district, at which 31,542 pupils were under instruction; of these, 30,583 were Hindus, 629 were Muhammadans, 42 were native Christians, and 288 were children of aboriginal descent, such as Santāls, Bhuiyās and Kolis, for whom 8 schools have been opened. The cost of educating each pupil is Rs. 2-12 per annum, of which no share is borne by the State. The slight decrease in the total number of schools noticeable during the first decade and the considerable decrease which has occurred during the last of the decades are attributed to the disappearance of ephemeral schools under the pressure of competition; small and inefficient institutions have closed their doors, and the pupils have transferred themselves in greatly increasing numbers to larger and more efficient schools.

Those which have survived have been given greater stability by the new system of grants-in-aid, under which they receive small quarterly grants supplemented by further allowances at the close of the year; the system of payment by results, which was previously in vogue, has been abolished, and the payments are now dependent on the general condition of the school, as ascertained by inspections *in situ*.

**SPECIAL
SCHOOLS.**

The number of special schools increased from 1 in 1870-71 to 24 in 1905-06 and the number of students from 30 to 438; they include all the institutions at which instruction of a special kind is given, such as training and technical schools and Sanskrit *tois*. There are in all 4 training schools, 3 for masters and 1 for school mistresses, in the district. Of the first three schools, one at Balasore is a second grade *guru* training school, which is maintained by Government and prepares Assistant Pandits of Middle schools and Head Pandits of Upper Primary schools, while the other two at Astapur and Dolasahi, which are also managed by the Department, are third grade or subdivisional *guru* training schools, at which Primary school teachers are

taught. Female teachers receive instruction at a training class for women, established by the Baptist Mission in connection with the Middle Vernacular school at Santipur, which is aided from Provincial revenues.

In 1895-96 the number of technical and industrial schools in the district was only one, viz., that at Alalpur, which was attended by 21 pupils. By 1906 a second had been opened under missionary management at Santipur, and on the 31st March 1906 the total number of pupils attending these institutions was 93. Weaving with the aid of ordinary and fly-shuttle looms, sewing, carpentry, cane-work and gardening are the chief subjects taught in these schools. The school at Santipur is doing good work among the aboriginals of the locality.

In 1895-96 there were only 9 Sanskrit *tois* with a total attendance of 146 pupils, but during the next 10 years, i.e., on the 31st March 1906 the *tois* had increased to 18 and the number of pupils to 293. Twelve of these institutions are aided and the rest are unaided. Among the most successful may be mentioned the Srirām Chandra *Tol* at Balasore.

**EDUCA-
TION OF
WOMEN.**

In 1870-71 there were 139 girls receiving instruction, and only 4 schools had been opened; 128 girls' schools have now been established, and the number of pupils has risen to 3,884. Of these schools, three, one at the district headquarters, one at Jaleswar and one at Santipur, which are all under the management of the Baptist Mission, teach up to the Middle Vernacular